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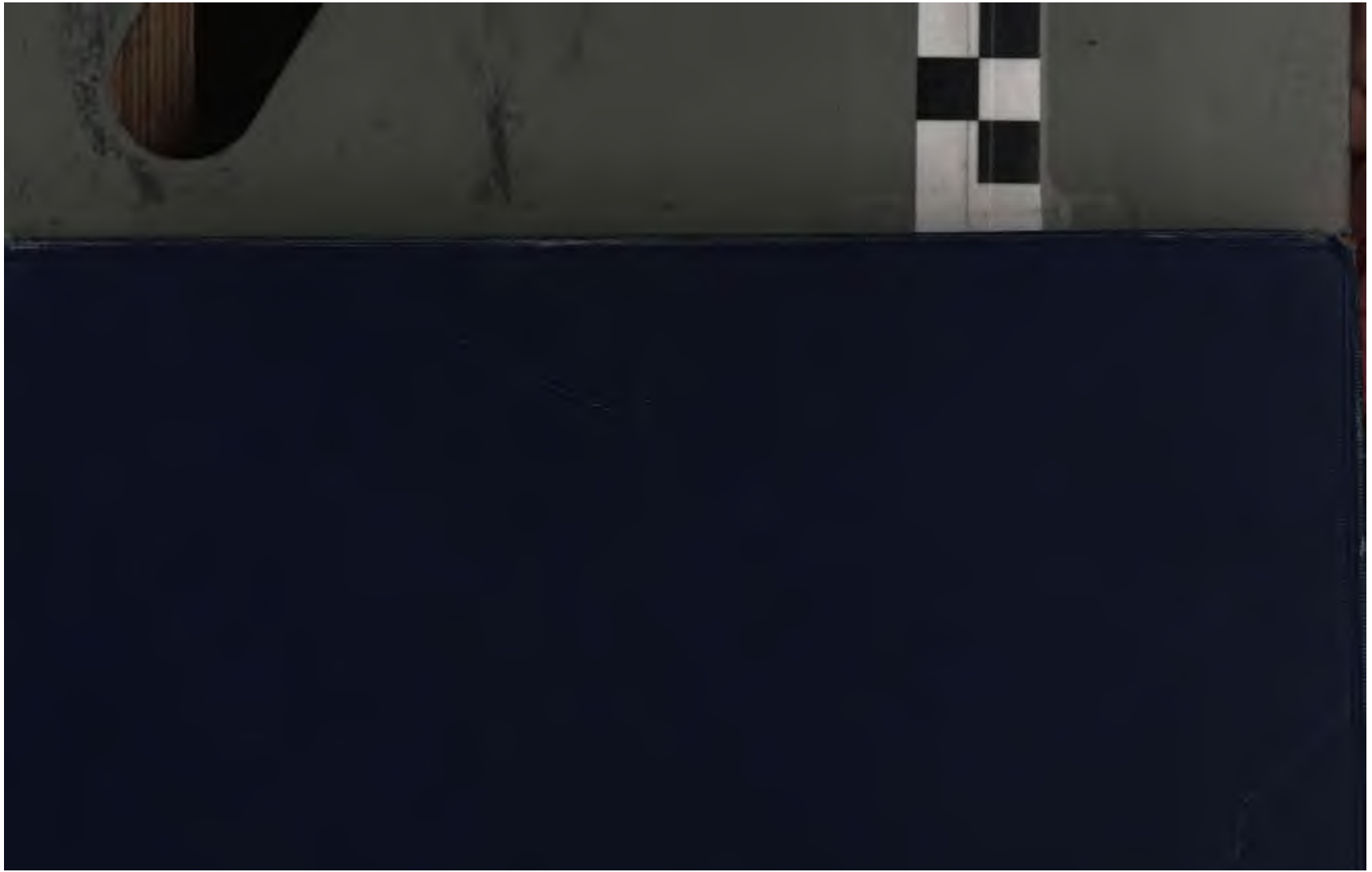

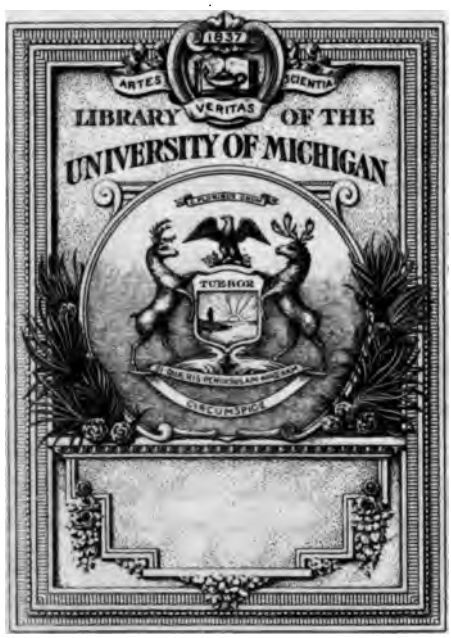

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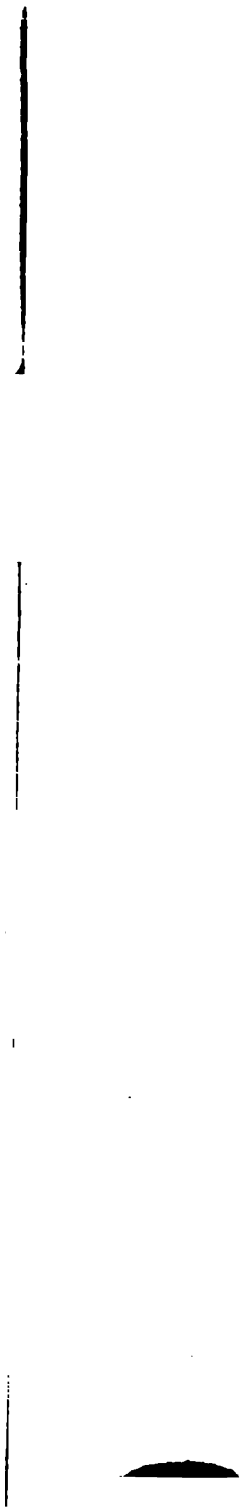

THE WAR OF THE SUCCESSION IN SPAIN

First published, 1888.
Cheaper re-issue, 1905.

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THE WAR OF
THE SUCCESSION IN SPAIN

DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE
1702-1711

BASED ON ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS AND
CONTEMPORARY RECORDS

BY

COLONEL THE HON. ARTHUR PARNELL
ROYAL ENGINEERS (RETIRED)

LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS
YORK HOUSE, PORTUGAL STREET
LINCOLN'S INN
1905

CORRIGENDA.

Preface x, line 6 from bottom, *for* "contemptible" *read* "notorious."
Page 25, Note, *add* at end "He was born in 1666."
Page 52, lines 9, 10, *for* "the Marines and the Spaniards" *read* "about 1800 Marines and 70 Spaniards."
Page 86, line 6 from bottom, *for* "the 20th" *read* "the 9th."
Page 107, Note, lines 4, 5, *for* "(;) but on neither occasion did he witness" *read* "(,) where he saw some."
Page 109, Note, line 1, *for* "brother" *read* "son."
Page 109, Note, line 2, *for* "baronet" *read* "knight."
Page 257, Note [1], line 5 from bottom, *between* "was" *and* "restored" *insert* "finally."
Page 293, Note [4], line 3, *for* "f 193" *read* "f 153."
Page 304, Note [1], line 2, *for* "1736" *read* "1737."
Appendices, page 309, line 1, *for* "1662" *read* "1669."
„ page 319, line 25, *for* "Westmoreland" *read* "Toms."
„ page 320, line 10, *for* "Charles II." *read* "Charles I."
„ page 323, line 6, *for* "all" *read* "at least eight."
„ page 323, line 19, *after* "Colonels" *insert* "Southwell."

TO THE MEMORY OF

GEORGE, PRINCE OF HESSE DARMSTADT,

FIELD-MARSHAL OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE, AND FORMERLY BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE ENGLISH SERVICE; WHO, IN THE WAR OF THE SUCCESSION, HAVING PREVIOUSLY WON THE ADMIRATION OF EUROPE BY HIS INTREPID DEFENCE OF BARCELONA, AND THE LOVE OF THE SPANIARDS BY HIS SYMPATHETIC RULE AS A VICEROY, GAINED FOR KING CHARLES A SECURE FOOTHOLD IN PORTUGAL, ANDALUSIA, VALENCIA AND CATALONIA, AND AT AN EARLY AGE MET A GLORIOUS DEATH ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE,

THIS WORK

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

INASMUCH as, hitherto, there has been no work in the English language furnishing a purely naval and military chronicle of the War of the Succession in Spain (for the sketch written fifty-six years ago by the late Lord Stanhope deals mainly with its Bourbon politics), probably no apology for the book now submitted will be deemed necessary. But since, in addition, in all nineteenth century accounts of the times of Queen Anne the notices of this conflict are based (directly or indirectly) on certain "memoirs," which have been discovered to be mendacious concoctions, perhaps the *raison d'être* of a fresh and complete history of the war will be even more apparent.

The original MSS. which in its preparation have been examined (the great majority never before having been utilized for historical purposes) are among the valuable private collection of the Earl of Egmont (to which the writer was courteously afforded every facility of access); the Treasury and State Archives (including the Ordnance Minutes) in the Public Record Office in London; the State Papers in the corresponding office in Dublin; the Registers in the War Office (for the investigation of which the thanks of the author are due to the Chief Clerk of the Adjutant-General's branch); and the Papers known as the Artillery, Autographs, Byng, Ellis, Establishments, Galway, Godolphin (very full),

Haddock, Halifax, Hatton-Finch, Hyde, Ireland, Leake (in much detail), Malet, Miscellaneous, Navy, Ordnance, Richards (very clear and important), Ruvigny, Rooke, Stepney, Strafford (of great interest), Tyrawley, William III. and Wogan, forming part of the Stowe, Egerton and Additional Collections of the British Museum.

The privately printed works and papers similarly consulted include the Family Memorials of the Carletons (kindly lent by the Hon. Mrs. Pigott-Carleton), Stephen Leake's Life of Admiral Sir John Leake* (full of naval information), the Letters of Lord Peterborough to General Stanhope, the straightforward Manuscript of Colonel De St. Pierre (brought to light by his descendant, Major-General E. Renouard James, R.E.), and the Royal Engineers' Journals.

The published English works with which these rarer records and the MSS. have been compared comprise all the contemporary London Gazettes* (which provide excellent testimony); Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne* (very copious); the London and Gentleman's Magazines;* the Diary of Narcissus Luttrell; Chamberlayne's Angliæ Notitiæ* and Magnæ Britanniæ Notitiæ;* the "Impartial Inquiry into the Management of the War in Spain"* (containing much official evidence); the Calendars of the Treasury Papers; the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission; Kemble's State Correspondence; the Wentworth Papers; the Hatton Papers; Collins's Peerages;* Burke's Extinct Peerage; Cannon's (official), Duncan's (official), Gillespie's, Hamilton's, Higgins's, Nicolas's, Packe's and Trimen's Records of the British Army; and "Notes and Queries." With these have been associated the

* The asterisk denotes that the work in question was printed in the last century.

works of Agnew, Birch,* Boswell, Brodrick,* Burchett,* Burnet,* Burton, Campbell* (a good authority on naval transactions), Chamberlen,* Cockburn,* Coxe, Craik, Cunningham,* D'Aulnoy,* D'Auvergne,* Defoe, Drinkwater,* Dunham, Dunlop, Dyer, Freind* (documents), Gibson,* Gleig, Hare,* Harrison,* Hazlitt, Hervey, Jeffrey, Jesse, Kane,* Kennet,* Kingston* (important), Lediard,* Lee, Lockhart, Lowndes, Macaulay, Macky,* Morris, Murray (despatches), Noble, Oldmixon,* Orrery,* Ralph,* Ranke, Rieutort* (highly important), Roscoe, Salmon,* Sayer, Smollett,* Somerville,* Alexander and James Stanhope (letters), Strickland, Swift, Teonge, Temple,* Tindal,* Wallace, Walpole,* Warburton, Watt, Wilson, and Wyon, besides several scarce treatises and pamphlets.*

Lastly, the foreign memoirs, histories and letters (founded on contemporary French, German, Dutch, Spanish and Italian sources), of which a like advantage has been taken, are the works of Ayala,* Berwick,* Barre,* Colbert, De La Torre,* Daniel,* Duclos, Feuquières,* Griffet,* Harrach,* Hippeau, Küntzel (most valuable), Lamberty* (chiefly official), Larrey,* Lettres Historiques,* Limiers,* Millot* (Noailles), Noorden, Pollnitz,* Quincy* (very detailed), Reboulet,* St. Simon,* Targe* (including San Felipe, San Vitali and Ottieri), Tessé, Torcy,* and Voltaire.*

In regard to the war itself, although the battles of Malaga, Almanza, Saragossa and Villa Viciosa certainly present features of considerable interest, yet it is not in these actions that its characteristic element is to be found, but rather in its numerous expeditions, sieges and defences, which were of great variety, and involved momentous naval operations. Among those in which the English more especially distinguished themselves, the noble defences of GIBRALTAR, BARCELONA and

ALICANT stand out conspicuously. At the first, the long and successful resistance constituted in reality the conquest of a fortress which, previously thereto, had only been wrested from the enemy by surprise. The second was the occasion of the principal Austrian success that occurred during the war; and the well-timed naval relief by which this was rendered complete was effected under circumstances of an extraordinary nature, now for the first time made public. The third supplied an episode of courage and endurance against a resolute attack by mining almost unique in the annals of warfare.

When we come to a consideration of the chief actors in the contest, we shall find that in this country little hitherto has been known respecting the young Imperial field-marshal, PRINCE GEORGE OF HESSE DARMSTADT, who was the moving spirit of the Allies, the director of their chief expeditions, and the hero of their greatest achievements. Nevertheless the career of this daring soldier and much-loved viceroy, who was killed at the assault of Montjuic, was one to which the records of those times cannot easily supply a parallel. On the part of the English the leader who bore the brunt of the fighting was undoubtedly the gallant and modest HENRY DE RUVIGNY, EARL OF GALWAY. With an army mainly composed of inferior Portuguese militia, he drove Philip V. from the throne, captured Madrid, proclaimed Charles III., and marched through Spain from one side to the other. Yet in order to extol a contemptible impostor, the memory of this great Huguenot general has been aspersed by Lord Macaulay and most English writers of the present century; hence it is hoped that the following history will re-exhibit his conduct in that true light in which it was seen by his own contemporaries.

In connexion with Prince George and the Earl of Galway it may be stated that particular efforts have been made to describe the prominent parts taken in this struggle by the Germans and Huguenots. During the later period of the conflict the fighting was essentially maintained by the Germans, who certainly won the battles of Saragossa and Villa Viciosa; whilst throughout the war, and especially at Almanza and Alicant, the services of the Huguenot officers and soldiers were of a very eminent character.

In respect of the naval commanders, it will be found that the details adduced regarding Sir George Rooke are by no means in accordance with the reputation with which he is usually credited, and tend to show that the action of the ministers of the day (who were of his own political party) in depriving him of his command was not so uncalled-for as is generally supposed. As to the accuracy however of this account there is little room for doubt, for the facts are clearly embodied in the records (hitherto unpublished) of his own numerous councils of war. On the other hand, it is certain that the brave and skilful Sir John Leake has been much overlooked. For few British seamen have done their duty with greater merit, or with more success, than the admiral who led the van at the hard-fought battle of Malaga, relieved the beleaguered fortresses of Gibraltar and Barcelona, reduced Carthagena, Alicant, Majorca and Sardinia, and commanded the fleet at the capture of Minorca.

In the appendices to this work it has been deemed advisable to furnish short memoirs of the previous careers of the two principal generals on the side of the Allies. That relating to Prince George is the first of the kind published in the English language, and will be found to contain particulars not supplied even in Küntzel's *Leben und Briefwechsel*. In the note on Lord Galway,

the interesting narrative already written by Mr. Agnew has been supplemented by Griffet's *Recueil*, the Journal of St. Pierre, and other evidence.

In addition to these fuller accounts, slight biographies of most of the commanders engaged in the war have been included in the footnotes. Among the officers thus dealt with are Admirals Rooke, Cloudesley Shovel, Leake and Byng; the Dukes of Schomberg and Ormond; Lords Peterborough, Tyrawley, Portmore, Rivers and Shannon; Generals Wyndham, Conyngham, Stanhope, Carpenter, Wills, De Montandre, Wade, Nugent, Shrimpton, John Richards, Michael Richards, Petit and Borgard; Prince Henry of Hesse Darmstadt, the Duc De Vendôme and the Duc De Berwick; Maréchal De Tessé, Field-Marshal Von Staremberg, Count Noyelles and General D'Asfeld. Interspersed among the annotations and throughout the text will be found some novel historical information respecting the Guards, the Royal Engineers, the Royal Artillery, the Marine Corps, and several of the oldest Regiments of the British Army.

At the end is a summary of the researches made with reference to the authenticity of the so-called "Memoirs of Captain Carleton." Of this inquiry the literary portion, relating purely to the question of authorship, is probably not yet exhausted; but it is not of a historical nature, and when completed will be more fitly adapted to form part of a critical review of the works of that writer to whom (at present) its testimony strongly points.

December, 1887.

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THE WAR OF THE SUCCESSION IN SPAIN. 1702-1711.

FIRST PERIOD. CADIZ. 1689-1703.

CHAPTER I.

EVENTS PRECEDING THE PEACE OF RYSWICK.

IN order to obtain a clear idea of the origin and causes of the war in Spain commencing in 1702, which forms the subject of this history, the reader will find it necessary to take some cognizance of the affairs of that country during the preceding thirteen years.[1] From the completion of the English Revolution in 1689 to the year 1697, when by the treaty of Ryswick Louis XIV. agreed to acknowledge the succession of William III., western Europe was devastated by a great struggle, in which, on one side, were ranged England, Holland, Denmark, Germany, Spain and Savoy; and on the other, France alone. And whatever may have been the ostensible reasons for this conflict, it is unquestionable that its real object was a desire on the part of the

[1] The first two Chapters of this history are of a preliminary nature; and their main object is to show how, and by whom, the War of the Succession in Spain was principally originated, and also to whose action and conduct was due that revolt of Catalonia to the Austrian cause in 1705, which formed the foundation of the hopes of Charles III. in Spain.

greater portion of the civilized world to curb the growing aggrandizement of the French monarchy.

But to France the progress of this war was by no means inglorious. In Flanders, where the brunt of the fighting took place, her troops contended against the allied English, Dutch, Danes and Germans, led by the English King; and up to the year 1694, the capture of Mons, Namur and Charleroi, and the victories of Steinkirk and Landen palpably evinced the warlike superiority of the French armies. Nevertheless the resolute general who commanded the Allies was not destined to be altogether unfortunate; for in 1695, by dint of excellent strategy, he fairly wrested the mighty stronghold of Namur from the hands of the French king, and thereby checked his conquering career. In Spain the French marshals Noailles and Vendôme slowly but surely reduced the numerous small fortresses, and subjugated the open country of Catalonia; and in 1697, by the capture of Barcelona (its capital), almost the whole province was placed at the mercy of the French. It is to this crowning event, which immediately preceded the peace of Ryswick, that we have principally to direct our attention.

At the commencement of the war, when Marshal Noailles invaded Catalonia, the Spanish empire was in a condition of decline and decay. Governed by the feeble will of Charles II., the Spaniards, with the exception of the Catalans, had little aptitude or inclination for fighting; their army was small, and as a rule, their officers were without training or experience; their navy hardly existed; most of their fortifications were merely walls; and above all, their finances were in a most unprosperous condition. Nevertheless, during the first two years of the conflict, owing partly to the inconsiderable number of the French forces, and

partly to the guerilla tactics of the hardy Catalan militia or miquelets (aided by the difficulties of the mountainous country), nothing of consequence was effected by the French commander. But in 1691 he captured the fortress of Urgel; whilst for three days the fleet of Admiral D'Estrées bombarded Barcelona and committed terrible havoc. The following year the campaigning was again uneventful; but in 1693 Noailles gained possession of the important stronghold of Rosas; and in 1694, of that of Gerona, besides the smaller ones of Palamos and Ostalric; whilst he routed the Spanish army on the banks of the Ter.

In 1695, having fallen sick, he was replaced by the Duc de Vendôme;[1] and on the Spanish side, the captain-general Medina-Sidonia was superseded by the Marquis de Gastanaga. At the beginning of this year the hard-pressed Spaniards were powerfully reinforced by a contingent of 5,000 Imperialists, who arrived from Germany under the command of the young Major-General Prince George of Hesse Darmstadt.[2] The principal event of the campaign that ensued was the siege of Palamos, in which the Spaniards were assisted by a naval expedition under Admiral Russell. On August the 9th that commander arrived off Palamos with the Allied fleet, and landed 4,000 English and Dutch foot under Brigadier-Generals Stewart and Count Nassau. The Allied troops having invested

[1] *Louis Joseph, Duc de Vendôme*, was an illegitimate grandson of Henri IV. and was born in 1654. He had fought at the battle of Steinkirk (in 1692) and had shown himself a good officer. He was a favourite with Louis XIV., who treated him as a Prince of the Blood. With his soldiers he was very popular; and in any dangerous enterprise he could always reckon on their hearty support.

[2] For a short account of the past career of PRINCE GEORGE OF HESSE DARMSTADT, see Note A.

the place, the admiral shelled it from the sea and effected considerable injury. But hearing that a superior French fleet was on its way from Toulon to relieve the fortress, he determined to retire in time and advised Gastanaga and Darmstadt to do the same. Accordingly the expeditionary troops re-embarked; and the Spaniards retreated to their intrenchments on the Ter near Ostalric (which fortress Vendôme had ruined and abandoned). On the conclusion of the campaign Gastanaga (who had proved an inefficient generalissimo) became partially insane, and was succeeded by Count Francisco De Velasco.

In 1696, at the opening of active hostilities, Velasco was in command of the Spanish and German foot in the Ter intrenchments; whilst the horse, numbering 4,500 sabres, were encamped at Massanet, eight miles in advance, under Prince George. On the night of May the 31st,[1] at the head of a strong force of horse, dismounted dragoons[2] and grenadiers, Vendôme set out for Massanet, hoping to surprise the Prince. But on learning that he was retiring to the Ter, he pursued with all speed and overtook the Spanish rear within sight of the intrenchments. Darmstadt had drawn up his horse in three lines on the side of a hill, where he received the French onset. Animating his troopers by his personal courage he three times repulsed the superior

[1] Unless otherwise specified, all the dates in this work are New Style. In the Old Style calendar, which in Great Britain was not discontinued till 1751, the dates up to December 31, 1699, were ten days, and after that day, eleven days, behind N.S.; and the O.S. new year began on March 25th.

[2] Dragoons were musketeers trained to fight either on horseback or on foot. They were an arm quite distinct from the horse; but as they usually fought in company with them, the term "horse," throughout this work, is used to imply either horse proper or mounted dragoons.

force of the enemy; but at the fourth charge his men gave way, and Velasco (a brave soldier, though without experience) did not leave his post to support them. The Prince therefore retreated in good order under the guns of the intrenchments. In this action the Allies lost 300 killed and wounded, and the French 200, amongst whom, however, were two general officers. Shortly afterwards a large detachment of French horse having advanced into the country on a foraging expedition, Darmstadt sallied from the Ter and routed them, inflicting a loss of 300 officers and men, including Major-General De Reinac, who was killed.

Since his arrival in Catalonia the Prince had become very popular with the Spaniards; and in a letter from a leading Catalan, written this year, it was stated "that no one in all Catalonia was more beloved than the Prince . . . . and what the Catalans would not do for the Prince, they would never do for the King." But the great event which won for him the admiration of the Spaniards and a high reputation throughout Europe was the defence of Barcelona.

In the winter Vendôme made great preparations in Rousillon for the siege of that fortress; and in May, 1697, with an army of 26,000 men, he advanced towards it. Thereupon the Allies broke up from their camp on the Ter; and whilst Velasco, with 3,000 horse and 5,000 foot, took post behind the Llobregat, about eight miles to the westward of Barcelona, the Prince entered the place with 1,500 horse and 11,000 foot. About the same time Admiral D'Estrées arrived in the roadstead with a large squadron from Toulon, and supplied Vendôme with 3,300 seamen and a powerful siege train. The garrison proper of Barcelona consisted of 4,000 militia, who were assisted by the armed burghers; and the governor was the Count De Corsana. The place

was weakly fortified, but was well supplied with victuals and stores; and the regular troops formed a separate command under Darmstadt, to whom the chief direction of the whole defence was entrusted. On June the 12th Vendôme partially invested the place, but was unable to comprise within his lines a small detached fort named Montjuic, situated on a hill to the west of the town; hence, on that side, the Prince had free communication with Velasco.[1]

On the 15th trenches and batteries were formed in two attacks against the north-east side of the fortress. The French chief engineer was Brigadier-General De La Para; and the San Pedro and New Bastions were the principal objects against which he directed his works. The same night the Prince made a sortie with 800 men, and considerably delayed the workmen in the trenches. Three nights afterwards, with 400 horse and 1,900 foot, he made two great attacks on the flanks of the besiegers and inflicted heavy loss. On the 19th the garrison pushed forward counter approaches and warmly harassed the heads of the enemy's trenches. The French then assaulted in force a detached building held by the Spaniards as an advanced post, and after overcoming a brave resistance, captured it; whilst later in the night, Darmstadt made a third powerful sortie, which resulted in another severe struggle. In these actions the French lost 1,000 men, and the Allies 200. On the night of the 24th the Prince made the most determined sally he had yet attempted, and a bloody engagement ensued, at the conclusion of which, a cessation of hostilities for three hours was agreed upon in order that each side might bury their dead. La Para had now established mortar batteries which co-operated

[1] See the plan of Barcelona.

with D'Estrées' bomb-vessels in shelling the town; and by the end of June 2,500 private houses, besides many churches and convents, had been burnt or ruined.

On July the 4th the siege works having been steadily pushed forward, Vendôme, with eight regiments, delivered a vigorous assault on the covered way. It was met by the Spaniards with great firmness, and the conflict lasted three hours. During this time three great attempts were repulsed, and in the result the French were driven back to their trenches, leaving behind them an immense number of killed and wounded. Two days afterwards Vendôme made a second spirited attack on the same work, and after desperate fighting gained possession of it.

Next day the Prince briskly assailed the French lodgment, but the enemy maintained their ground. The following day, in still greater force, he renewed the assault; and again there was much close fighting of the most resolute nature; but his men were repulsed, and there was a second suspension of arms—this time lasting five hours—to allow the antagonists to attend to their wounded and dead. In these four days no less than 3,500 Frenchmen were placed *hors-de-combat;* whilst the loss of the Allies was only 500. By this time the besieging army had suffered so great a diminution that Vendôme wrote to Louis XIV., urgently demanding reinforcements. Thereupon all the available troops in Languedoc and Provence, numbering 6,000 men, were ordered to march with speed to the assistance of the French marshal. Writing home at this period, Alexander Stanhope, the English ambassador at Madrid, thus expressed himself: "As we talk of little else here besides Barcelona, so you can expect little more from me. . . . . It is certain they have defended themselves beyond expectation, and seem still very

courageous. . . . . The Prince of Hesse is the idol of the Catalans, and if anything save Barcelona, it will be his being in it."

Shortly after the loss of the covered way the Prince planned a great simultaneous attack on the French lines, to be made by himself from Montjuic, and by Velasco from his camp at St. Feliu, about eight miles distant. But information of the design was brought by a deserter to Vendôme, who thereupon resolved to turn the tables on the Spaniards. On the night preceding that on which the attempt was to have been made, he set out at the head of a strong detachment of horse and foot to attack Velasco. Owing to the negligent look-out kept by the Spanish general the surprise was complete; his camp was thrown into confusion, pillaged and burnt; many of his soldiers were killed; and he himself escaped with difficulty. Eventually however the Spaniards rallied, and Vendôme retired.

On the 22nd, the French reinforcements having arrived, and two practicable breaches having been made, the marshal attacked them in great force; and the fighting lasted for nearly seven hours. In the end the French became masters of San Pedro, but were driven back from the breach in the New Bastion. Next day the Spaniards made several gallant attempts to expel them from San Pedro; but at the end of the day the enemy remained in possession. At the same time the French, on their side, sprung a mine under the breach in the New Bastion, and followed up the explosion by a furious assault. Three times they were repulsed, but their fourth charge was successful; and both bastions were thus in their possession. In the actions of these two days the French lost as many as 4,000 men, but the Allies not more than 750.

Meanwhile the Prince had erected strong retrenchments behind the captured breaches and had placed the

adjacent streets of the town in a state of defence. On these works, from the positions he had won, La Para soon poured a heavy fire. But the Prince still held the curtain between the bastions; and he now tauntingly hoisted on them some French colours which his men had recently captured.

On August the 5th the French engineer had mined the retrenchments, and Vendôme had directed ten companies of grenadiers and sixteen battalions of foot (about 6,000 men in all) to be in readiness for a final assault. But previously thereto, according to the custom of war, he sent a lieutenant-general to the governor with a summons to surrender. Now Corsana had recently received instructions from Madrid not to hold out to the last extremity provided the most favourable terms could be obtained; for the Court were unwilling to see the fine city completely ruined; and negotiations for peace, which would provide for its restoration if captured, had already been set on foot. The governor therefore deputed an officer of equal rank to meet Vendôme's messenger; but at the same time he purposely caused delay by intimating that he was not in a position to treat finally. On the 7th however a courier arrived from Madrid bringing more definite instructions, together with orders from the King deposing Velasco, nominating Corsana as civil viceroy, and appointing Prince George to be captain-general of the troops. Vendôme and the Prince then met each other personally and (after many civilities) proceeded to arrange terms.

At heart Darmstadt was very indignant at the decision of the Spanish ministry, and such was the spirit of the garrison and the burghers, and their confidence in the Prince, that they also were equally unwilling to capitulate; but on the 10th articles of surrender were agreed upon and the highest honours

of war were obtained. The garrison marched out by the breaches with their arms and colours; and taking with them their equipment and baggage, together with thirty-six guns from the fortress and the whole armament of Montjuic fort, proceeded to Tarragona. The peculiar privileges of the Catalans, on which they highly prided themselves, were specially guaranteed them; and a suspension of hostilities took place till Sept. 1.

Thus ended the greatest of the many sieges of Barcelona. After an attack lasting fifty-five days (during thirteen of which the attackers were actually in possession of the main works) conducted with skill and determination by an excellent general and a large French army, the garrison had only yielded to the orders of its King. During the siege the French lost no less than 10,000 officers and men, including thirty engineer officers, 160 captains and 322 subalterns. However, notwithstanding these losses and the great exertions they had made, the fortress remained hardly more than six weeks in their hands; for on September 20th the Peace of Ryswick was proclaimed, and by its provisions Barcelona and Catalonia were restored to Spain.[1]

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. Coll., Godolphin Papers, 28056, f. 206. London Gazettes, June 14—Sept. 16, 1697. Alexander Stanhope's letters, 77, 82, 112, 114, 115. Burchett's memoirs [1703], 275, 277, 281-285. Murray's Marlborough despatches, V. 647. Harrach's mémoires [1735], I. 69, 71-76, 167. Limiers' règne de Louis XIV. [1718], VI. 149-151, 170, 279-284. Larrey's histoire de France [1734], II. 381, 407, 437-440. Küntzel's Leben des Landgrafen Georg von Hessen Darmstadt, 105, 133-136, 140, 148. Burnet's history of his own times [1724], 638. Quincy's histoire militaire [1726], III. 329-348. St. Simon's mémoires, II. 9, V. 35. Reboulet's vie de Louis XIV. [1744], II. 446, 564. Ralph's reign of King William [1746], II. 740. Tindal's history of England [1751], XIII. 271, 481; XIV. 317, 382-384. Voltaire's siècle [1752], 348. Smollett's history of England [1757], I. 320. Millot's mémoires de Noailles [1777], I. 403-406, 411-412, 423-424. Dunlop's memoirs, II. 171, 269. Macaulay's history of England, IV. 6, 66, 263, 280, 428, 507, 514-516.

CHAPTER II.

The Spanish Succession.

Charles II., King of Spain, was born in 1661; and four years later, he ascended the throne. Sickly and malformed from infancy, his life was a term of much physical suffering and consequent mental depression. In 1679 he married Marie-Louise, eldest daughter of the Duke of Orléans and niece of Louis XIV. She died in 1689 without children, and much lamented. The same year, according to Spanish custom, the King married again. His second Queen was Maria Anne, daughter of the Elector Palatine of Neuberg and sister of the Empress. Being of an ambitious disposition, she soon obtained mastery over the King's feeble mind; but at the same time she was herself guided mainly by her confessor and by a lady of her bedchamber, both of them Germans, who unfortunately used their influence in such a manner as to evoke considerable antipathy towards their nation.

In 1695 much plotting and intrigue began to be manifested at the Spanish court. It was evident that no heir was likely to be born to the King; hence each prominent statesman was engaged in negotiating the claims of one or other of the various possible successors to the Crown. These were three in number, and consisted of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria (then an

infant); the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor; and the Duc D'Anjou, second son of the Dauphin of France. The King's mother advocated the Bavarian claims; Queen Maria, those of the Archduke; and a strong Bourbon party, those of D'Anjou. In 1695 the King himself formally adopted the Bavarian Prince as his heir, and three years later this succession was sanctioned by the principal courts of Europe; but only after they had secretly arranged for a partition among themselves of the Spanish outlying dominions.

In 1697, through the influence of Queen Maria, Juan, Count De Melgar and Almirante of Castille, who was then the pillar of the Austrian party, was appointed prime minister. This year, on the cessation of the war, the diplomacy and intrigues of the Bourbon agents became more pronounced; and soon Cardinal Porto Carrero, Archbishop of Toledo, was recognized as their leader. The Queen was zealously supported by the Almirante and by the Imperial ambassador Count Harrach. But the indiscreet conduct of her two domestic confidants, her own unwise and domineering policy and the ungracious manners of the German ambassador combined to render the Austrian cause very unpopular with the Castilians.

However there was still one German in Spain who was held in admiration by all parties; and this was Prince George of Darmstadt. The Almirante therefore resolved to take advantage of his renown, and recommended the King to summon him to Madrid to reward him for his good services. Accordingly in October the Prince arrived at the court, and was very cordially welcomed by Charles, who at once declared him a grandee of the first class and ordered all present to render him the honours due to a Spanish prince of

the blood. Having frequently conferred with the Queen, the Almirante and Harrach on the best means of promoting the Archducal succession, the Prince was appointed viceroy of Barcelona; and in January, 1698, after receiving many valuable presents from the King and Queen, he proceeded there to assume his government.

In view of the probability of the early decease of Charles II., great efforts were made by Louis XIV. to enforce the Bourbon claims to the Spanish throne. As his ambassador at Madrid he selected the Duc D'Harcourt, a very able man, who soon became a favourite with the Castilians; and the French cause rose correspondingly. As a rule the Germans at court were harsh, proud and avaricious; whilst on the other hand the French were affable, liberal and open-handed; and between the two nationalities thus represented the people of Madrid were not slow to make contrasts.[1] However the Austrians were on the alert; and when the King was seized with a dangerous illness Prince George substituted German for Spanish governors in all the principal fortresses of Catalonia. In a letter to D'Harcourt, dated April, 1698, the French King mentions this proceeding with much anger and says: "Le Prince de Darmstadt a passé toute sorte de bornes." Writing again in May, Louis adverted at some length to a design, which he attributed to Darmstadt, of attracting to the Austrian service all the Irish troops then serving in the French army. As viceroy of Catalonia the Prince, by his moderation and righteous

[1] "The French gain and the Germans visibly lose ground every day. The French ambassador's lady is huzza'ed as she passes the Plaza and Calle Mayor. 'Ah que linda! Ah que hermosa que esta! Dios la bendiga!'"—*Extract from the despatch of Mr. Alexander Stanhope, the English ambassador.*

dealing, had quickly won the esteem of all classes; and later on, by his sympathy and unselfishness, he gained their love. It was owing to these qualities, combined with the great personal bravery as a soldier which he had displayed in the war, that no long period elapsed before he had acquired a permanent foothold in the affections and imaginations of the simple, warlike Catalans.

In October the partition treaty already mentioned was secretly signed at the Hague; but early in 1699 it was rendered nugatory by the death of the young Prince of Bavaria. In June this year the Bourbon party at Madrid had gained such influence that the King was induced to dismiss the Almirante, and to replace him by Porto Carrero; but on the eve of his departure from the capital the ex-prime minister wrote to Darmstadt assuring him of the King's continued regard, and adjuring him to retain unimpaired the great influence he possessed over the Catalans.[1]

In 1700 King Charles, whose health had been gradually declining, actuated by his Bourbon ministers and guided by his unscrupulous confessors, was induced to sign a will appointing the Duc D'Anjou as his successor. On October the 31st, at the age of thirty-nine, after much illness patiently endured, his long-expected death took place. At this event the grief of his people was heartfelt and sincere; for though weak in mind and body, in some respects he had been an excellent monarch; and in sympathy for the poor and afflicted he had been especially conspicuous.

[1] On October 12, 1699, Count Ernest Rudiger von Staremberg, president of the Emperor's war council (who had defended Vienna against the Turks), wrote to the Prince, and informed him with much congratulation that he had been raised to the rank of field-marshal in the Imperial service.

On receipt of the news King Louis acted with much promptitude. Summoning his young grandson the Duc D'Anjou, he proclaimed him, in the midst of the assembled French court, Philip V. of Spain.[1] In December the new King departed for Madrid, where Porto Carrero and the Ministers had duly prepared for his reception. Queen Maria was ordered to quit the capital before his arrival; and in January, 1701, attended by most of the Austrian adherents, she proceeded to Toledo, where she established her court. On February the 17th King Philip arrived at Madrid, and was received with great joy by the inhabitants.

Having obtained a recognition of the Bourbon succession in the Milanese, Naples and Sicily, King Louis made an arrangement with Savoy and other petty Italian states, by which Mantua and the Lombard provinces were at once occupied by French troops. Through the diplomacy of his agents he had already gained over the Elector of Bavaria, who had been acting as governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and (in virtue of a compact between Spain and Holland) had been in command of the 15,000 Dutch troops that formed the garrisons of the Netherlands fortresses. These strongholds, together with the troops in them, the Elector now handed over bodily to the French King, who made good his claim by suddenly pushing forward his armies to the Netherlands frontier.

By this manœuvre the Dutch were intimidated; and in order to recover their troops they consented to recognize the Bourbon sovereignty. Their example induced King William of England to do the same;

[1] *Philip V.* was born on December 19, 1683, and was thus barely seventeen years of age.

and simultaneously with these proceedings Louis effected a treaty of alliance with Portugal. Thus with Spain and Lombardy in his own hands, with his northern frontier secure, and with no fear of the acquisition of the fine harbour of Lisbon by the maritime powers, the French King was in a very commanding position for waging war with the Empire, and even with all Europe.

But on his side, the Emperor was equally as unhesitating and resolute. For after formally protesting against the French usurpation, he at once despatched an army across the Trentine Alps and resolved to expel them from Italy. Hence it was at the end of the year 1700, and little more than three years after the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick, that the war of the Spanish Succession actually commenced. King William now became the moving spirit of an anti-French combination which arose in Europe as soon as the Emperor had taken his decisive step. Accompanied by the Earls of Marlborough and Galway, he proceeded to the Hague to concert measures with Pensionary Heinsius; and aided by the diplomatic abilities of his two coadjutors, he succeeded in establishing a "Grand Alliance" between the Empire, England and Holland. The recovery of the Netherlands and the Milanese was the main object of the treaty drawn up between these Powers; and on September 7, 1701, this document was formally ratified.

Nine days later the dethroned King James died at St. Germains; and being thoroughly prepared for war, Louis took advantage of the occasion to precipitate that event by recognizing the son of the ex-monarch as King of England. At this insult the whole nation was roused; money was freely voted by Parliament, and warlike preparations were at once com-

menced. On their side, the Dutch raised an army of 100,000 men, of whom 60,000 were for the field, and the remainder for the fortresses.

In February this year Prince George was deposed from the viceroyalty of Catalonia. At that time he had greatly endeared himself to the Catalans; and young as he was, the poorer people appear to have looked on him more as a father than as a ruler. On his departure from Barcelona he told them that it would not be long before he returned with another King; and it was their affection for him that, four years later, moved them to rise, almost as one man, to welcome the new King whom he actually brought with him.

He now proceeded to Vienna, and reverted to the service of the Emperor, by whom (after the ratification of the Grand Alliance) he was accredited to King William (his old commander at the Boyne) as special plenipotentiary for warlike affairs in connection with Spain. Hence in the winter of 1701-2 he became for a second time a resident in England, and having been warmly welcomed by the King was at once admitted into his confidence.

Before leaving Spain the Prince had organized throughout that kingdom a regular system of intelligence in the interests of the Austrian cause; and by means of advices constantly transmitted he was well-instructed in the state of Spanish political feeling. Being thus in close communication with the Peninsula, as well as with the Courts of St. James, Vienna and the Hague, he naturally became the directing mind of the Alliance in all that concerned Spanish affairs.

He submitted to King William and his ministers various projects for striking at France through Spain, and for the reduction of the latter kingdom to the

obedience of the House of Austria; and eventually it was decided to carry out his suggestion to despatch a large joint expedition against the fortress of Cadiz. This place was not only the principal naval arsenal of Spain, but it was also the only convenient harbour for its thriving trade with the West Indies, whence its treasure, much of which found its way into French coffers, was mainly procured. Hence if Cadiz could be captured early in the war, a serious blow would be delivered to the Bourbons in Spain; and in addition the Court of Versailles would be financially crippled. It was therefore resolved that whilst the Emperor was putting forth his chief strength in Italy, the English and Dutch should act conjointly—by land, in the Netherlands—and by sea, in Spain. By the beginning of 1702 these arrangements were fully matured, and they were not interfered with by the death of King William; for Queen Anne followed the policy he had initiated; and on May the 15th war with France was formally declared.[1]

It was ostensibly in the character of Imperial plenipotentiary, but virtually as director of the operations, that Prince George was deputed to accompany the ex-

[1] *The Earl of Marlborough*, now fifty-two years of age, was appointed captain-general of the English forces and master-general of the ordnance. As such, he was charged with the officering, discipline and equipment of the English troops in Spain; and it was by his counsels that, subsequently, most of the Allied operations in that country were regulated. He was also chosen as ambassador to Holland; and on arriving in that country in the summer of 1702 to command the English contingent, he was elected generalissimo of the whole Allied army destined to operate in the Netherlands. At this time the English prime minister was *Sidney, Earl of Godolphin*, a man of much skill in finance and of great integrity. His son had married Marlborough's daughter. Like Marlborough, he was a very moderate Tory. The secretaries of state acting with him were the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges, both Tories.

pedition to Cadiz. He had also a military commission to take command of all such Spanish soldiers as should join the Austrian standards. The nature of the enterprise was, to some extent, tentative; for although the disposition of the Catalans was well known, how the Andalusians would act when the flag of revolt should be raised was a matter by no means certain. However, under any circumstances, the object of manifesting the strength of the Allied maritime power would be gained; and such a demonstration might well be calculated to impress the adjacent kingdom of Portugal, which, though under a compact with the French, was still a neutral power, and might possibly be lured from its Bourbon connection. With this object it was decided that Darmstadt should proceed beforehand to Lisbon to test the feelings of King Pedro and his ministers. The Queen of Portugal (now dead) had been the Prince's cousin, and thereby his intercourse with the King would be facilitated.[1]

Accordingly in July the Prince sailed for Lisbon, where he arrived on the 10th; but it was nineteen days before the King would give him a public interview; for some of the leading ministers were under the influence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, by whom Darmstadt's arrival was viewed with much alarm. Nevertheless, in secret, Pedro and his principal councillors were favourably inclined towards the Austrian cause; and, *sub rosâ*, an understanding was soon arrived at between them and the Prince. But as it was necessary to give no reason for complaint to the suspicious

[1] *King Pedro II.* was born in 1647. He had five children, the eldest being Juan, the Prince of Brazil. His chief advisers were the Duc De Cadaval and the Marquis D'Alegrette, the former a partisan of the Bourbons, and the latter, of the Austrians. His habits were licentious, but his outward life was devout and pious; and withal he was a man of much intelligence.

Bourbon envoys, the King's public actions in regard to the Prince were of studied coldness; and thus these functionaries, as well as the recently arrived English ambassador Mr. John Methuen, were completely deceived.[1]

[1] Add. Coll., Godolphin Papers, 28056, f. 337: Autograph Papers, 11759: Hatton Finch Papers, 29588, f. 72, 179; 29590, f. 38, 44, 46, 95, 97, 130. Historical MSS. Comm. 7th Rept. 763. D'Aulnoy's letters [1692], I. 79-85; II. 3, 8, 11, 45, 76-77, 101, 168. Alex. Stanhope, 93, 102, 119, 122-131, 133-139, 144, 188. Burnet, 702. Harrach, I. 33, 155-174, 230-233, 245-246, 279; II. 3-4, 49-50, 62, 104, 195, 210, 259. Larrey, III. 117, 183. Hippeau's avènement des Bourbons, I. ix, lviii, 66-67; II. 210, 254, 446. Targe's avènement de la maison de Bourbon (Ottieri, San Vitali, San Felipe) [1772], I. 70-77, 102-110, 136, 311-312; II. 255-257. Lamberty's mémoires [1735], II. 249. Lettres Historiques [1702-1713], XXII. 466-469. Küntzel, 112, 152, 154, 197-198, 206, 272. St. Simon, II. 53-55. Colbert's journal inédit, 28. Quincy, III. 701-703. De La Torre's mémoires secrettes [1721], I. 204, *et seq.* 348; II. 43, *et seq.* 133; III. 108. MS. Journal of Colonel James De St. Pierre (presented to the Royal Engineers by Major-General E. Renouard James, R.E.), 36. Narcissus Luttrell's diary, IV. 308, 341; V. 188. Boyer's annals of the reign of Queen Anne [1702-12], I. 71, App. 10; IV. 286. Cannon's official records of the British army, 6th Regt. 103. Macky's secret memoirs [1733], 21, 22. Cunningham's history of England [1787], I. 186, 189-190, 241-242, 248-255; II. 89-90. Dunlop, II. 1, 4, 67-73, 154, 247-8, 331. Campbell's lives of the admirals, III. 169-176. Tindal, XV. 253. Somerville's reign of Queen Anne [1798], 11, 13, 16. Coxe's life of Marlborough, I. 66-67, 70, 80. Smith's smaller history of England, 256, 259. Torcy's mémoires [1757], I. 19, 81. Reboulet, II. 29, 559. Millot, I. 119, 419-428; II. 2-7, 12-16, 173. Feuquières' mémoires [1737], preface, xiii.

CHAPTER III.

The Expedition to Cadiz.

To command the expeditionary fleet the admiral selected was Sir George Rooke,[1] under whom were Vice-Admiral Thomas Hopson, and Rear-Admirals Fairborne and Graydon. With the Dutch ships were Lieutenant-Admiral Van Allemond, Vice-Admirals Callenburg, Vandergoes and Pietersen, and Rear-Admiral Wassenaer. The combined fleet numbered 50 sail of the line, 30 being English and 20 Dutch.

The English land force amounted to 10,000 men, and was commanded by the Duke of Ormond.[2] Under him were Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bellasis; Major-Generals Sir Charles O'Hara and Lord Portmore; and

[1] *Admiral Sir George Rooke* was born in 1650. In 1689, as commodore, he was employed on the coast of Ireland and at the relief of Londonderry. In 1690 he became a rear-admiral; and as such, he was present at the defeat of Beachy Head. In 1692, as a vice-admiral, he shared in the victory of La Hogue; and in the subsequent exploit of burning the stranded French ships, his skill and courage were conspicuous. He was M.P. for Portsmouth and a strong Tory.

[2] *James, Duke of Ormond*, was born in 1665. He had served with much credit at the battles of Sedgmoor, Steinkirk and Landen. In the last mentioned engagement he was wounded and taken prisoner, but was immediately exchanged for the Duke of Berwick. He was a man of great bravery and of a very genial temperament.

Brigadier-Generals Seymour (commanding the Marines), Matthews (commanding the Guards) and Gustavus Hamilton.[1] The principal staff officers were Major Joslin, the adjutant-general; Colonel Sir Thomas Smith, the quartermaster-general; and Colonel Carles, the chief engineer and commandant of the train.[2] The following was the composition of the force: dragoons, 185; foot, 7,100; marines, 2,400;[3] engineers and train, 312.[4] The *matériel* of the train consisted of 20 heavy

[1] *Sir Henry Bellasis* was born about 1652 and had served in Ireland and Flanders. In the latter country he had commanded a division of the Allied army. *Sir Charles O'Hara* (afterwards Lord Tyrawley) was born in 1640. He had seen much service in the Dutch war and subsequently under King William in Flanders. *David Collier* (*or Colyear*), *Lord Portmore*, had also fought in the Dutch war and in Flanders. He was considered an excellent commander of foot, and was about forty-eight years of age. *Brigadier-General Gustavus Hamilton* had accompanied Prince George at the head of the grenadiers at the celebrated passage of the Shannon. In 1715 he was created Lord Hamilton; and in 1717, Viscount Boyne.

[2] *Colonel Pierre Carles*, one of the Queen's engineers, was a Huguenot exile who (having come over with King William) had served in Ireland and Flanders and had been wounded at the siege of Namur. At this time a large proportion of the English engineers (like him) were French refugees.

[3] The dragoons were Lloyd's (afterwards the 3rd Hussars). The foot were the Guards (1st and 2nd regiments, forming a brigade), Bellasis's (afterwards the 2nd), Churchill's (afterwards the 3rd), Columbine's (afterwards the 6th), the Royal Fusiliers, or O'Hara's (afterwards the 7th, a detachment), Erle's (afterwards the 19th), Gustavus Hamilton's (afterwards the 20th), Donegal's (afterwards the 35th), and Charlemont's (afterwards the 36th). The marines were Seymour's, or the Queen's (afterwards the 4th foot), Villiers's (afterwards the 31st foot), Fox's (afterwards the 32nd foot), and Shannon's (afterwards disbanded). Of the above-named officers Churchill and Erle were not present.

[4] The Engineers of the kingdom, or the Queen's Engineers (now styled the Royal Engineers), were at this time a small military corps consisting of officers who had been selected from other branches of the army. Since feudal days the military engineers had constituted a permanent branch of the land forces of the realm; and in time of peace their duties lay in the construc-

guns, 16 mortars and 10 field pieces, besides siege implements. The Dutch contingent numbered 4,000 men, who were under Major-General Baron Sparr and Brigadier-General Pallant.

Six days before the sailing of the fleet Rear-Admiral Sir John Munden, with his squadron, arrived at Portsmouth from the north coast of Spain, whither he had been despatched to intercept a French squadron expected to sail from Corunna. But he had failed to do so, and his return home without meeting the enemy elicited some national indignation. At a council of war held on board Rooke's flagship on July 11, 1702, it was resolved that if, on the arrival of the expedition off the Spanish coast, the French ships were still at Corunna, the troops should be landed in the vicinity, and the fortress should be attacked by land and sea.

Next day the fleet and transports, 160 ships in all, sailed from Spithead. The instructions to Ormond and Rooke were "to reduce and take the town and island of Cadiz;" but if the attempt should appear impracticable, Vigo, Ponte Vedra, Corunna, "or any other place belonging to Spain or France as shall be judged proper," was to be attacked. Graydon having ascertained that the French squadron had left Corunna, the fleet steered for Cadiz; and on the 21st, off Lagos, Prince George joined them in a frigate from Lisbon.

The Bay of Cadiz runs in a direction about north-west and south-east. On the north and east it is bounded by Spain, and on the south-west by the narrow Isle of Leon, at the inner end of which is

tion, armament and maintenance of the castles and fortifications. The Train was the name given to the artillery and engines of an army. These formed the equipage of the Engineers; and as a matter of convenience, the *personnel* of the train was usually commanded by the chief engineer.

a causeway connecting it to the mainland, and at the outer end, the compact town and fortress of Cadiz. Between the town and the head of the bay, are two promontories or puntals, one on each side, by which the inner portion of the bay is converted into a harbour with a narrow entrance. Outside, or to the north-west of, the northern or Matagorda puntal (in the order named proceeding westward), lay the town of Port St. Mary (somewhat inland), Fort Santa Catalina, the coast town of Rota, and the bay of Bulls, which last was altogether outside the bay of Cadiz.

The garrison of the place consisted of nine regiments of foot and 1,000 horse; there was also a numerous militia for the defence of the adjacent coasts. The fortifications were fairly strong; and between the puntals was a chain boom, behind which were drawn up seven French men-of-war and eight galleys. On the Matagorda puntal was a fort of twelve guns, and on the opposite point a castle with thrice that armament. Along the shores were several batteries, of which the largest was Fort Santa Catalina mounting twenty guns. The fortress itself was in good order and well supplied. Its governor was the Duc de Brancacio, whilst the viceroy of Andalusia, and "general of the coasts," was the Marquis de Villadarias.[1]

On the 23rd the fleet came to an anchor outside the Bay of Bulls; and next morning Ormond sent Carles, Smith and Lieutenant Cows of the "Ranelagh," to reconnoitre the south-west, or outer, side of the Isle of Leon and to select a good landing-place. They reported that along that side there were three bays "very proper to make a descent in." A joint council of war

[1] In 1693 *the Marquis de Villadarias* had gallantly and skilfully defended Charleroi against the French. By King William he had been held in high estimation.

was then held; and in order that a sudden escalade assault might be made on the land front of the fortress before the garrison were well prepared, Ormond strongly advocated an immediate landing in one of these bays. But he was resolutely opposed by Rooke, who urged that the garrison was numerous; that the fleet could give no assistance beyond covering the landing and bombarding the town; and that, if it came on to blow, the ships would have to weigh, and the army could not be supplied.

Not being heartily supported by some of his own generals, Ormond was overborne by this specious reasoning, and Rooke's counter suggestions were adopted. These were that the fleet should anchor in the bay of Bulls, where the troops should land; that Santa Catalina and Port St. Mary should then be attacked and captured; and that afterwards (whilst endeavouring to receive fresh intelligence as to the state of affairs in Cadiz) the commanders should reflect at leisure on the best course to pursue. Unfortunately, though possessed of good judgment and of much enterprise, Ormond was deficient in firmness. For the sake of unity he consented to the timorous plan recommended by his naval colleague; and thus it may be said that the expedition was at an end almost before it had begun.

The same afternoon, after a summons sent to Brancacio had been politely declined, the fleet anchored in the bay of Bulls, about three miles from the shore. At daybreak on the 26th the troops began to disembark; and the first to land were the grenadiers, forming a brigade 1,200 strong, commanded by Colonel the Earl of Donegal [1] and the Dutch brigadier Pallant. The

[1] *Arthur, Earl of Donegal* (as will be seen hereafter) took a prominent part in the operations of the war. Unfortunately, as regards his earlier services, no records have been found.

surf was so great that several boats were capsized, twenty men were drowned, and all were obliged to wade ashore through water breast high. In the van was a party of eighty men of the Guards under Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Pearce. Their arms being wet, he at once ordered them to reload with dry powder from their grenades. Scarcely had they done so when they were charged by a party of sixty Spanish horse, whom they received with a steady volley, which killed their commander Don Felix Vallero, and several troopers, and dispersed the remainder. Subsequently the foot and marines landed in three lines, and although during the operation the guns of Santa Catalina and an adjoining battery fired on them at long range, only five men were lost; for the main attention of the fort was diverted by two men-of-war, which stood in and engaged it.

Next morning the Alcalde (or mayor) of Rota came out to surrender the small town and castle. Here was a wharf, at which were landed the dragoons, part of the train and the supplies. Ormond then issued a proclamation in the name of Queen Anne, stating that his object was not so much to capture any town as to assert the rights of the House of Austria. The Prince, who accompanied him, sent out a similar manifesto in the name of the Emperor and hoisted the Imperial standard.

By the 31st the whole army had landed; whereupon, leaving at Rota a garrison of 300 men under Lieutenant-Colonel John Newton of the Guards, Ormond marched to Port St. Mary; but previously to setting out he issued special orders to the troops against marauding. In the following morning, after a slight skirmish with a detachment of Spanish horse sent by Villadarias to harass their march, the army entered

the town of Port St. Mary, which they found deserted by the inhabitants. But a party of 200 Spanish militia having mistaken their way had shut themselves up in a large house, where they surrendered at discretion.

Although the citizens had departed, they had left behind them most of their goods, together with much food and wine; and it was not within the power of the officers to prevent their famished and tired men from forcing open the unoccupied houses to obtain refreshment. Finding the cellars plentifully filled with wine, the soldiers began to carouse, and then naturally proceeded to plunder. What they could not carry away they broke and spoilt; and (to crown all) they robbed the churches of their treasures and sacred ornaments. Since the booty would be useless unless carried on board the ships, they called on the seamen for assistance, and the latter soon pillaged even more vigorously than the troops. It was not long before some land officers of high rank thought it judicious to share the profits of crimes which they were unable or unwilling to prevent, and among these was Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bellasis, the second in command of the whole army.

Enraged by these proceedings, some influential Spaniards, who had intended to have joined the Allies, kept away; and the disgust of Prince George (himself a Roman Catholic), whose express object it was to conciliate the Andalusians, can be readily imagined. He took an early opportunity of despatching a letter of complaint to the Chancery at Vienna, and it was from this source that the English Ministry first heard that Bellasis was implicated in the plunder, and that other generals were reasonably suspected.

On August the 2nd the commandant of Santa Catalina

was summoned; and being threatened with no quarter, he surrendered with his garrison of forty men as prisoners of war. Two days afterwards, a joint council having been assembled, Rooke agreed to enter the harbour and to attack the French ships behind the puntals, if Ormond would first capture the Matagorda. Next day, on their march towards that fort, the troops encamped at Santa Vittoria; and on the 8th Baron Sparr and Carles with a body of 2,400 English and Dutch, and a small train, advanced before it and opened trenches.

By this time the enemy had sunk three merchant ships across the mouth of the harbour; whereupon Rooke wrote to Ormond that, under the circumstances, the capture of the fort would be of little use, and that, instead thereof, the troops should take up a position at the head of the bay to cut off the escape of the townspeople, whilst the fleet should proceed to bombard the town. However Ormond decided to push on the operations; and on the 13th, having constructed a battery for four guns and another for the same number of mortars, Carles began to batter and shell the Matagorda. But the fort replied briskly, and at the same time the men-of-war and galleys materially assisted it by their fire. After a three days' engagement the gun battery, which was on marshy soil and not founded on beams or fascines, began to subside; and the approaches, which had been brought to within 140 yards of the fort, became filled two feet deep with mud. Finding himself therefore unable to maintain the attack efficiently, Ormond resolved to abandon it; and on the 17th Sparr and his detachment rejoined the Allied headquarters at Santa Vittoria. During the seven days' operations the besiegers had lost sixty-five men killed or wounded.

As a reason for his proposal to substitute bombardment for active fighting Rooke had plausibly adduced the undoubted fact that as yet no Andalusians of consequence had joined the Prince; and the views of the admiral being shared by Bellasis and O'Hara, who throughout the expedition treacherously thwarted their own chief, the whole enterprise was benumbed. On learning this state of affairs Darmstadt sent the admiral a remarkable memorial, addressed "To all who complain that none of the principal officers of the kingdom of Spain are yet come to join the army." In the course of it he said: "As to this, I refer it to all impartial men's considerations if any of them can be blamed, seeing [that] the methods which have been taken hitherto . . . seem not directed to do anything but to find out some pretence, after some unanswerable delays, to go with the first fair wind for England." Here it may be mentioned that, from the outset, Rooke himself had been more or less ill with gout, and had made no secret of his wish for the expedition to sail home at the earliest opportunity.

But the Prince also strongly deprecated Rooke's idea of wantonly bombarding the town; and on the 17th he formally protested against this project as being one expressly calculated to alienate the Spaniards from the Austrian cause. Thereupon Rooke wrote to Ormond denying any right that Darmstadt had to interfere with their councils and resolutions, and asking for the Duke's own opinion on the proposed measure. Influenced apparently by the insidious advice of Bellasis and O'Hara, the council of generals summoned by Ormond approved of the bombardment, but suggested that Rooke should first offer to accept a ransom from the citizens of 100,000 pistoles! Next day however Rooke

and the admirals held another council; and after stating that, as they did not see the Prince's name mentioned in their instructions, they could have no regard to his representations, they nevertheless added that, "in regard the swell of the sea continues so as to render the bombardment of Cadiz ineffectual," they would abandon the idea, and instead would prepare to re-embark the troops. Notwithstanding this ingenious excuse there is no doubt that the Prince's protest saved the Andalusians from a cruel and useless outrage.

On the 23rd Ormond broke up his camp and commenced his retreat to Rota. He was pursued by the Spanish horse under Villadarias; but Colonel Fox of the marines, who commanded the rearguard, efficiently covered the main body and repulsed the Spaniards. On the 24th Fort Santa Catalina was blown up; and after a well-conducted march the army arrived at Rota. Next day the re-embarkation commenced, and continued till the 28th.

About the 21st a deputation from the Austrian party at Madrid and Toledo, consisting of Don Francisco de Santa Cruz and Don Lewis Pavedao, had arrived in a frigate from Faro to confer with Darmstadt. They had expressed an earnest hope that the expedition would winter in Spain; and to this end they mentioned San Lucar at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, Vigo, Ponte Vedra, and Lugar Nueva near Alicant, as ports where the ships and troops would be well accommodated and could obtain supplies. In a letter to Ormond the Prince had strongly urged these views; and the Duke, between whom and Darmstadt there was complete harmony, had coincided in them. Hence on reaching Rota, Ormond wrote to Rooke suggesting that they should endeavour to take post at Corunna or some other Spanish port, "for," said he, "I think it is of the

last consequence to the Queen and her Allies that we should stay and winter in some port of Spain." And on the 26th he wrote again : "I desire nothing more than that you would set us ashore either in the Island of Cadiz, Ayamonte, Vigo, or Pontevedra, or wherever it shall be thought reasonable, with such a number of ships as shall be judged sufficient."

Next day, in reply, he received the following resolutions which Rooke and the admirals had agreed upon:—As regards a second attempt on Cadiz, the fleet would be too much exposed to the chance of bad weather; at Ayamonte, the larger ships could not come near the place, the smaller ones would be in danger, and a landing would be very difficult; at Vigo or Pontevedra, unless they could arrive there by Oct. 12 at latest, the want of provisions and the advance of the winter season would render an attack impracticable; and lastly, as to Corunna, the place was altogether too far off.

On the 28th, the main body of the army (accompanied at his own request by the Alcalde of Rota) having embarked, Fox received orders to draw off the rear-guard. By this time the Spanish troops, both horse and foot, were close to Rota; and a detachment of the latter had even forced their way into the town at one of the gates; but they were repulsed by a skilful charge and Fox's men withdrew safely in the boats, the last to quit the shore (as they were the first to land) being the grenadiers of the Guards under Pearce. The same day a joint council was held on board the "Ranelagh" on the question of making an attempt on some other port on the coast of Spain. Against this idea Rooke and the admirals were unanimous; whilst Bellasis, O'Hara and three other English generals sided with them. But Ormond and both the Dutch generals thought

otherwise and refused to sign the resolutions voted by the majority. On the 29th the expedition sailed for England, and thereupon Prince George returned to Lisbon.[1]

[1] Public Records, State Papers, Domestic, Anne [1702-6]. Bundle 2, No. 18. Brit. Mus., Add. Coll., Ordnance Office Papers, 5795, f. 191-205: Hatton Finch Papers, 29590, f. 99, 106, 122; 29591, f. 2, 47, 68, 81, 169; 29588, f. 146, 165, 257-265; Ellis Papers, 28925, f. 75, 115, 119, 121, 125, 131, 137, 142, 151, 153, 161, 167, 169, 171, 181. Hist. MSS. Comm. VII. 163. London Gazettes, Sept. 14 to Nov. 2, 1702. Boyer, I. 71-97, App. 10, 17, 23-25; IV. 286. Alex. Stanhope, 102, 206-210. Cannon, 4th Dragoon Gds., 87. Duncan's official records of the Royal Artillery, I. 93. Macky, 171. Küntzel, 280. Lamberty, II. 250-251. Limiers, VII. 241-245. Lettres Hist. XXII. 459, *et seq.* Larrey, III. 181. Hamilton's records of the Grenadier Guards, I. 434-436. Campbell, III. 163-167, 171-176. Smollett, I. 199. Millot, II. 173.

CHAPTER IV.

The Affair at Vigo.

After the fleet had been two days at sea a despatch vessel arrived from Ambassador Methuen at Lisbon, conveying a letter to Ormond, dated the 27th, with an assurance that the King of Portugal would be "extremely pleased" to assist the expedition "in anything whatsoever you shall desire here, or in any part of his dominions." By Ormond the letter was not unreasonably construed as an invitation to the fleet to winter in some port of Spain adjacent to Portugal, whence copious supplies would be sent; but (as may be supposed) Rooke was of a different opinion. Ormond then suggested that the fleet should touch at Lagos and ask for explanations; but even to this, Rooke and the generals who had recently voted with him objected. Accordingly the voyage to England was prosecuted; and on October the 5th (in accordance with previous instructions) a squadron under Commodore Walker, with four regiments on board, was detached to the West Indies.[1]

Meanwhile it was expected at home that the French admiral Chateau-Renaud would shortly arrive

[1] These regiments were Erle's, Gustavus Hamilton's, Donegal's and Charlemont's. About this time Brigadier-General William Matthews, commanding the Guards' brigade, died on board the fleet.

at one of the Atlantic seaports of Spain or France with a squadron convoying treasure galleons from the West Indies; and with a view to their capture the English Ministers had sent out a fleet under Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who sailed from England on October the 4th. On the 13th they learnt that, the expedition against Cadiz having failed, Rooke was making the best of his way home; and nine days afterwards the news arrived that on September the 28th Chateau-Renaud, with fifteen sail of the line and seventeen galleons, had arrived at Vigo. Despatches containing this intelligence were at once sent off both to Sir Cloudesley and to Rooke; but before they reached the latter a very fortunate accident had enabled him to anticipate them.

On October the 3rd Captain Wishart, with a detachment of the fleet, had put into Lagos to water, and there some of his officers casually heard that the galleons had reached Vigo. He at once sailed to overtake Rooke and the fleet, and on the 17th came up with them. A council of admirals was then held, and it was unanimously resolved to attack Chateau-Renaud; nor does it appear that Ormond was even consulted; but it is certain that he was only too glad to concur in any active operation that Rooke might at last be induced to undertake. The fleet at once steered for Vigo, and on the 22nd (or ten days after the time laid down by the admiral on September the 27th as his limit) came to an anchor off the bay.

The French admiral had brought the galleons into the Redondilla or inner harbour, and across its narrow mouth had laid a strong boom formed of chains, ships' yards and topmasts bound together. Behind this he had drawn up his squadron consisting of sixteen French and three Spanish sail of the line. On the north side the entrance was defended by a battery of twenty

guns; and on the south by one of forty, in rear of which there was a tower forming a keep. It was resolved that the Allied troops should land and assault the south battery and tower; and when these were captured the ships would stand in, burst the boom and attack Chateau-Renaud.

Next morning, at the head of a detachment of 2,500 English and Dutch troops, Ormond landed without opposition in a sandy bay six miles south of Vigo. His force was in four brigades commanded respectively by Colonel Lord Shannon,[1] Gustavus Hamilton, Lord Portmore and Baron Sparr.[2] He at once advanced against the south battery, which the grenadiers, bravely led by Shannon, stormed and captured. Under the command of the French naval captain De Sorel, the garrison then retreated into the keep and there made a good resistance. After being warmly plied with grenades and musketry Sorel unwisely opened the gates, intending to cut his way through to some adjacent boats. But the grenadiers rushed in; and Sorel with his troops, consisting of 300 French seamen and 50 Spaniards, surrendered at discretion. In this affair the Allies lost six officers and eighty men.

In the meantime Rooke had formed the attacking squadron into three lines. The ships to be employed were second-rates, for the first-rates drew too much water. In the van, under the command of Hopson and Vandergoes, were the Torbay, 80; the Mary, Grafton, Kent and Monmouth, all 70's; three Dutch two-deckers, and three

[1] *Richard, Viscount Shannon*, was born in 1674. He had served at the Boyne, at Landen and in the Namur campaign. In 1739 he attained the rank of field-marshal.

[2] In these operations Bellasis and O'Hara had no share; for on account of their implication in the plunder of Port St. Mary, the English ministers had sent instructions to Ormond to place them under arrest with a view to their trial in England by court-martial.

fire-ships. In the second line, under Sir George Rooke and Sir Stafford Fairborne, were six two-deckers and four fire-ships. In rear, under Callenburg, Pieterson and Graydon, were eleven two-deckers and three fire-ships. In addition, the three-decker "Association," 96, was ordered to engage the battery at the north of the boom.

On Ormond signalling that he had captured the south battery, the sea attack commenced. The leading ship was the "Torbay," Captain Andrew Leake, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Hopson. Taking advantage of a fresh breeze, Leake steered straight for the middle of the boom, broke it, and cast anchor on the other side between the two nearest French vessels. The remaining seven ships of the first line sailed abreast in his wake, but the wind falling light, were brought up by the boom and were obliged to cut openings in it.

Directly the "Torbay" entered, a French fire-ship grappled her, and her bows were quickly wrapped in flames; her foreyard was burnt to charcoal, most of her sails were destroyed, and sixty of the crew who jumped overboard to avoid being burnt were drowned. By Leake's exertions the fire was eventually extinguished, but Hopson was obliged to shift his flag to the "Monmouth." This ship, with her six consorts, had soon been enabled to pass the boom and had then supported the "Torbay." The engagement was brief, for the French did not fight well; and since the Allied squadron continued to pour in through the broken boom, Chateau-Renaud set fire to his flagship the "Forte," and sent orders to his captains to follow his example and to destroy the galleons.

However before this could be effected fourteen ships and galleons had been captured. Afterwards eleven more were taken which, being greatly damaged, had to be sunk or run ashore; but twenty were completely

burnt.[1] On the side of the enemy, though the loss in killed and wounded was small, 400 were taken prisoners, amongst them being the Spanish admiral D'Assego and the French commodores D'Aligré and De La Galisonnière. The value of the booty actually captured was about £1,000,000, and this was chiefly in merchandise, the bulk of the treasure having been previously removed inland. On the side of the Allies practically the whole of the casualties were in the "Torbay," which lost 115 men; for in the rest of the squadron not more than seven were killed or wounded.

The same night Ormond occupied Redondilla at the head of the harbour, whence he wrote to Rooke asking whether, if the troops attacked and captured Vigo itself, the admiral would leave sufficient ships and provisions to maintain them for the winter. Rooke replied that he could only spare five or six frigates and six weeks' or two months' provisions, and that the frigates would scarcely be safe except whilst cruising at sea. Ormond was therefore obliged to relinquish the idea and to re-embark.

On the 27th Sir Cloudesley[2] arrived with his fleet; and to him Rooke handed over the troublesome tasks of

[1] The men-of-war captured and brought away were the Bourbon (68), Prompte (76), Ferme (74), Modéré (54), Assuré (66) and Triton (42). Those taken, and sunk or run ashore, were the Espérance (70), Sirène (62), Superbe (70), Volontaire (46), Jésus-Maria-Joseph (70), Buffoona (54) and another Spanish fifty-four. Those burnt were the Forte (76), Oriflamme (64), Solide (56), Prudent (64), Dauphine (44), Entreprenant (24), Choquante (8) and Favori (fire-ship).

[2] *Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel* was born in 1650. His parents being in an humble station of life, he joined the navy as a cabin-boy; but he soon rose to higher positions, and it was not long before his own merits, and the interest taken in him by Sir John Narborough, obtained him a commission as lieutenant. In 1674 he was flag-lieutenant to Narborough in the Mediterranean; and at Tripoli he greatly distinguished himself by destroying the Dey's

destroying the Bourbon vessels run ashore, demolishing the batteries and bringing away the captured men-of-war and galleons, whilst with Ormond and the troops he himself sailed home. But already despatches had been sent to the Queen by the hands of Lord Shannon and Captain Thomas Hardy, who arrived on November the 10th. Their news was received with great joy; the Queen gave each of them a handsome present, and Hardy was knighted.

On the 18th Rooke and Ormond reached Portsmouth and were welcomed with marks of popular favour. By the lucky capture of the Vigo booty the murmurings at the Cadiz failure were almost stifled. Rooke was made a privy councillor, and not long afterwards Ormond was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, whilst Hopson and Andrew Leake were knighted. On the other hand, Bellasis and O'Hara were tried by court-martial for plundering; and whilst O'Hara was acquitted, Bellasis, being found guilty, was dismissed the service.[1]

ships (as they lay anchored under the batteries) by an attack with the boats of the fleet filled with combustibles. In 1689, for his conduct when in command of a third-rate at the battle of Bantry Bay, he was knighted. Next year he assisted Kirke at the relief of Londonderry, and was made a rear-admiral. In 1692 he fought under Russell at La Hogue, and subsequently under Lord Berkeley in his attacks on the French coast. With the seamen he was very popular.

[1] State Papers, Dom. Anne [1702-6], Bundle 2, No. 18. Add. Coll., Ellis Papers, 28925, f. 155, 159, 187, 189, 205, 210, 211: Hatton Finch Papers, 29588, f. 283, 290, 324; 29590, f. 126; 29591, f. 71, 90. London Gazettes, Oct. 29—Nov. 2, 1702. Boyer, I. 97-99, 127-148, App. 203, 222, 225. Cannon, 6th Drag. Gds., 95. Duncan, I. 93. Macky, 119. Burnet, 716, 723. Limiers, VII. 246-248. Lamberty, II. 252-254. Lett. Hist. XXII. 648-654. Larrey, III. 183. Campbell, III. 179-181; IV. 51; ditto [1779 edition], 18, 19. Hamilton, I. 437. Millot, II. 173-175.

CHAPTER V.

The Treaty with Portugal.

After the landing of Prince George at Lisbon the only minister he publicly visited was the German ambassador Walstein; but in private he continued his previous negotiations; and on October the 27th he was joined from Spain by his old friend the Almirante of Castille.

Knowing this statesman to be a malcontent, and with the view of banishing him from Madrid, King Philip had directed him to proceed on a special embassy to Paris. Accordingly, accompanied by the Count de Corsana and attended by a large suite, he ostentatiously left Madrid on his supposed mission. But he had pre-arranged that, after a few days' journey, an express should overtake him with a pretended mandate from the Court to proceed instead to Lisbon on a matter of urgent importance. On its receipt he dutifully directed his course for Portugal; but on arrival at the frontiers he threw off all disguise, and openly announced his intention to join the Alliance and to induce King Pedro to do the same. On taking up his residence at Belem, near Lisbon, he was secretly visited by most of the Portuguese nobility; and there is no

doubt that his presence had great influence in moulding their already half-formed inclinations towards the Austrian cause. He wrote to the Emperor that, owing to Darmstadt's exertions, it might be expected that King Pedro would soon break his compact with the Bourbons and join the Allies.

The Prince himself then returned to England, where he laid before the ministers the state of affairs in Spain and Portugal. His chief present aim was to bring about a treaty with Portugal, which should have for its primary object the seating of the Archduke Charles on the throne of Spain by means of the Portuguese army, aided (on their side) by the Catalans, and by the ships and troops of the maritime powers. His efforts in London were assiduously supported at Lisbon by the Almirante, and by the English, German and Dutch ambassadors. But as the French and Spanish envoys were steadily counter-plotting to retain the Portuguese court to their engagement with France, the task of the Allied diplomatists was by no means an easy one. Eventually however their labours were crowned with success; and after six months' unceasing negotiation, Portugal formally renounced her agreement with Louis XIV., and entered the ranks of the Grand Alliance. On May 16, 1703, the treaty was signed at Lisbon, and on July the 14th it was formally ratified in London.[1]

The vital provision of the treaty was the proclamation of the Archduke as Charles III., King of Spain; and on September the 12th this ceremony was performed at

[1] On October the 25th the cunning and shifty Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, followed the example of Portugal; and this, notwithstanding the fact that one of his two daughters was married to the Duc de Bourgogne, the eldest son of the Dauphin; and the other to his brother King Philip.

Vienna.[1] On the 19th the young King (who was only eighteen years of age) departed for the Hague, whence he was to proceed to England, there to embark on board the fleet for Lisbon. Among the chief officers accompanying him were Antonio, Prince Lichtenstein, who had been his governor, and was now to act as his prime minister; the Dukes of Mansfeld and Casetta; the Marquis del Vasto; Counts Baur and Zinzerling, the latter being the principal secretary; Major-General Count Uhlfeldt; and Colonel Count Zinzendorf. On January 4, 1704, Charles embarked from the Brill in Sir George Rooke's flagship and on the 6th arrived at Spithead, where he was received by Prince George and the Allied ambassadors.

There being once more a recognized King of Spain, Darmstadt was again a Spanish subject, and was to proceed to Lisbon with King Charles as his commander-in-chief and minister of war. Whilst awaiting the arrival of the new King, the Prince had made arrangements with the Duke of Marlborough regarding the departure of the troops, which, by the terms of the treaty, England and Holland were bound to provide for service in Portugal; and the Duke had expressed much interest in his success.

On the 7th Charles landed at Portsmouth and proceeded to visit the Queen at Windsor. On the 17th, in company with the Allied fleet and [illegible] Savoy at Turin), that Nizza or Villa Franca was being besieged by the French, the fleet had orders to proceed to the relief of these Italian fortresses before attacking any Spanish ones.

The direction of the expedition, and the command of the troops, who were to number 5,000 men, devolved on Prince George, who, in addition to his post as commander-in-chief, had been appointed Vicar-General of

ing the troops, making in all 188 ships, he sailed in Rooke's flag-ship for Lisbon. But eighteen days later, owing to stormy weather and contrary winds, his ship and most of the others were driven back to Spithead; and it was not till February the 24th that the fleet was finally able to depart. However the "Panther" frigate with Prince George on board, together with three transports, had managed to hold their own against the Atlantic tempests, and on January the 31st had reached Lisbon.

King Charles arrived on March the 7th, and next day the French ambassador (who certainly had remained till the last moment) took his departure. By the 16th all the transports had come in, and the troops, numbering about 10,000 men, began to disembark. A grand conference of the Allied ministers and generals was then held in the presence of the two Kings, when it was ascertained that the Portuguese fortresses were dilapidated, that their magazines were unprovided, that their troops were ill-clothed and inclined to desert, and that the country was destitute of horses and means of transport. Hence it was resolved, on the land side, merely to maintain the defensive; whilst, by sea, offensive operations would be undertaken against the Spanish coast fortresses.[1]

[1] Stowe Coll., Richards Papers, XXI. 131, 132; Miscellaneous Papers, 384. Add. Coll., Hatton Finch Papers, 29590, f. 139, The vital provision of the treaty was the p[illegible] Gaz. Nov. 2-5, of the Archduke as Charles III., King of Spain; and on September the 12th this ceremony was performed at

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SECOND PERIOD. GIBRALTAR. 1704-1705.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SPANISH COAST EXPEDITION.

IT was principally on account of the base afforded to their fleets that the Portuguese alliance was useful to the maritime powers; and the naval operations from Lisbon would necessarily take the form of joint expeditions directed against fortified ports. Whether successful or not, they would cause a diversion of the enemy's forces, and thereby would aid the Allied land campaigns. It was therefore arranged that an expedition should sail from Lisbon to attack Barcelona, Cadiz and Mahon (in Minorca); and if attempts on these strongholds should be impracticable or should fail, the petty fortress of Gibraltar was to be assaulted. But if positive intelligence were received from the Duke of Savoy, or from Mr. Hill (the English envoy at Turin), that Nizza or Villa Franca was being besieged by the French, the fleet had orders to proceed to the relief of these Italian fortresses before attacking any Spanish ones.

The direction of the expedition, and the command of the troops, who were to number 5,000 men, devolved on Prince George, who, in addition to his post as commander-in-chief, had been appointed Vicar-General of

Arragon, which was the highest office that could be held by any Spanish subject. Thereby he became regent for King Charles of the ancient dominion of Arragon, which comprised, besides that province, the former kingdom of Valencia, the principality of Catalonia, and the viceroyalties of the Balearic Isles and Sardinia.

On May the 6th Rooke received a letter from Nottingham, the Secretary of State, alluding to the preparations it was supposed (though erroneously) that the French were making for the siege of Nizza, but not altering the admiral's previous instructions. Nevertheless, although the Portuguese troops had not embarked, and although no intelligence had been received either from the Duke of Savoy or from Mr. Hill, Rooke determined to sail for Nizza. Accordingly two days later, the Prince and a detachment of Spanish troops having proceeded on board the flag-ship (the "Royal Catherine"), the fleet left the Tagus. They consisted of thirty English and nineteen Dutch sail of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels.

Under Rooke were Vice-Admiral Sir John Leake[1] and

[1] *Vice-Admiral Sir John Leake* was born in 1656. He was a son of Captain Richard Leake, the master gunner of England. In 1673, as a midshipman, he took part in an action with the Dutch. In 1689, at the battle of Bantry Bay, he was commander of the "Firedrake" fire-ship. The same year, in the "Dartmouth" frigate, with which he escorted two victuallers under a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries, he relieved the beleaguered garrison of Londonderry, and thereby raised the siege. In 1690 he took part in Marlborough's expedition against Cork and Kinsale. At the battle of La Hogue, where he commanded the "Eagle," third-rate, he was very closely engaged. He lost 210 men, killed or wounded, and his mizenmast was shot away. In 1702, as commodore of a squadron, he ruined the French settlements at Newfoundland. In December the same year he became a rear-admiral; and in the following February, a vice-admiral. In 1704 he was knighted. He was well versed in his profession, as well as in military details, and was much esteemed by the sailors. In person he was stout and well-set, with a florid complexion, an open counte-

Rear-Admirals Dilkes and Wishart; whilst Lieutenant-Admiral Callenberg, Vice-Admiral Wassenaer and Rear-Admiral Vanderdussen were in command of the Dutch. As the Portuguese contingent had been left behind, the land force actually embarked only comprised 1,900 English and 400 Dutch marines (forming portions of the ships' complements), together with seventy Spanish foot (Catalans) who had come to Lisbon to enrol themselves under King Charles; or altogether, 2,370 men. In command of the Marines[1] was Brigadier-General Edward Fox, who had been in charge of the rear-guard during Ormond's retreat from the Matagorda.

On the staff of the Prince were the Imperial colonels Juan Basset y Ramos, who was a military engineer and a native of Valencia; Henry Nugent, Count of Val De Soto;[2] and Prince Henry of Hesse Darmstadt, a younger brother of Prince George.[3] There were also twenty Spanish officers who had left King Philip and would

nance, and a piercing eye. In character he was upright and honest; whilst in disposition he was cheerful and warm-tempered.

[1] The English Marines were drafted from the seven marine regiments of the army, *viz.* :—Seymour's or the Queen's (afterwards the 4th), Saunderson's (afterwards the 30th), Luttrell's (late Villiers's and afterwards the 31st), Fox's (afterwards the 32nd), Shannon's, Holt's and Henry Mordaunt's. The three last corps (and in all subsequent notes such regiments of the army as are *for the first time* mentioned and are not shown as having been afterwards numbered) were disbanded on the conclusion of the war. The above-named seven regiments of Marines may be looked upon as the pioneers of the present Corps of Royal Marines, which did not commence its existence till 1755.

[2] *Colonel Henry Nugent* was a native of Ireland and a descendant of Lord Delvin. In 1690-91 he fought for King James, and after the capture of Limerick joined the Imperial regiment of Irish raised by Prince George. In 1697, being with the Prince at the defence of Barcelona, he greatly distinguished himself; and on its conclusion was created Count of Val De Soto.

[3] *Prince Henry of Hesse Darmstadt*, who was destined to play a very important part in this war, was born in 1677 and was thus only twenty-seven years of age.

be available to command such Spaniards as might afterwards join the expedition.

On the 21st, in order to water, the fleet put into Altea bay on the coast of Valencia. Here Darmstadt proposed that on the way to Nizza (concerning which place their information was altogether conjectural) they should present themselves before Barcelona. On this, Rooke agreed to stay there twenty-four hours, provided the wind remained westerly, so that they might afterwards fetch Nizza. On the 29th the fleet arrived off Barcelona, where Velasco (who in 1697 had co-operated with the Prince in the defence) was now governor.

By a skilful demonstration of naval power Darmstadt hoped that Velasco, ignorant as he would be of the number of troops on board the ships, and at the same time apprehensive of a rising on the part of the inhabitants (who were devoted to the Prince), would be forced to come to terms. But in this crisis Velasco acted loyally. He was already aware that the leading citizens had been in correspondence with Darmstadt, and that they hoped on the appearance of the fleet to stir up the populace to revolt. Hence when the Allied ships hove in sight he suddenly arrested and imprisoned the three chief Austrian leaders, one of whom was the Corregidor of the city, and nipped in the bud the intended conspiracy.

Warned of this state of affairs by a priest who managed to come off to the fleet, the Prince still cherished a hope that a few days' stay before the place, combined with a landing of troops and seamen, might effect a change. Accordingly on the 30th in the forenoon, with 1,600 marines (who were all that Rooke would spare), he landed without opposition to the east of the fortress and encamped. But by the disembarkation of this small force Velasco was in no way deceived; and at this time a Spanish deserter

informed him that the visit of the fleet was no more than an incidental episode of its voyage to Nizza. He therefore rejected the summons sent by the Prince; and though the troops remained on shore during the next day, and a few shells were thrown into the town by the bomb-vessels, he remained true to his post. Hence early on the morning of June the 1st, Rooke being anxious to sail, Darmstadt re-embarked the troops (whom Velasco had made no effort to attack); and the fleet continued its course to Nizza.

On the 4th, when the ships were off Hières, a despatch vessel from Lisbon brought word that on May the 22nd the French fleet from Brest under the Comte de Toulouse and Admiral D'Estrées, consisting of twenty sail of the line and fifteen smaller vessels, having passed the mouth of the Tagus, was proceeding to Toulon to join the squadrons fitting out in that port; and that Nizza and Villa Franca were certainly not undergoing siege. Knowing that the object of Toulouse was to evade the superior force of the Allies (which numbered forty-nine sail of the line), and to reach Toulon in safety, the true course of the English admiral was obviously to remain cruising where he then was, in front of that port. But such was not his view of the case; for in order to be reinforced by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who was expected from England with a second fleet, he at once sailed for Lisbon.

On the 7th, as it so happened—for Rooke (deeming himself too weak) was not endeavouring to intercept them—the French ships were sighted about four leagues to windward, and heading with a north-west wind for Toulon, from which they were then forty-five leagues distant. Thereupon Rooke tacked, stood to the north-east, and prepared for an engagement; but he did not gain on the French, who kept their distance all that

day and night. In the morning Toulouse (whose force was now twenty-three sail of the line and seventeen smaller vessels), was as far off as ever, and still bearing for Toulon. During the day it fell calm; at night, by the help of his well-manned galleys, the French admiral towed his ships to the northward; and by the evening of the 9th he was nearly out of sight. Being thus out-manœuvred, and feeling apprehensive lest on reaching Toulon the French admiral should reinforce himself, and should return to bar him from passing the Straits, Rooke made all sail for Lisbon.

On the 27th he arrived off Lagos, where he was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel with twenty-three sail of the line. That admiral had endeavoured to reach Brest before Toulouse sailed, but had failed to do so, and thereupon (according to his instructions) had proceeded to Lisbon. With a fleet of seventy-two ships, carrying (with the troops) 30,000 men, Rooke was now undoubtedly in a condition to attempt a surprise on Cadiz. This project was the main object of the expedition; and its successful accomplishment was anxiously expected by Methuen, King Charles and all his ministers. It was known that the place was very weakly garrisoned and by no means in a state to resist a sudden assault; for the whole of the regular troops had been drawn off under Villadarias to fight the Portuguese in Alemtejo; and now, if ever, there was an opportunity for Rooke to retrieve his failure of 1702. The Prince accordingly wrote from Lagos to the Spanish and Portuguese courts then at Santarem; and soon afterwards instructions were sent by Methuen to Rooke desiring him to make the attempt. But he briefly replied that only if a sufficient number of troops were sent from Lisbon to undertake a regular

siege, would he be willing to co-operate; and that in the meantime he would cruise near the Straits, and would await further communications from the two Courts.

On July the 1st he received a second despatch from Methuen, again urging him to carry out the enterprise; but, as before, he resolutely put off the matter, and remained cruising on the Atlantic side of the Straits; whilst at the same time he took the opportunity to detach a squadron to the Azores to protect the Portuguese Brazil trade. On the 9th a third despatch arrived from the ambassador, instructing him to make attempts either on Cadiz or on Mahon in Minorca; but he firmly refused to do anything of the kind, unless an army were first provided.

For a week longer he continued to sail to and fro in the same waters; and on the 16th his frigates brought intelligence that Toulouse, with forty sail, had been seen off Malaga, about fifty miles east of the Straits. Nevertheless, instead of pushing in that direction, he steered towards Cadiz, resolving (as he said) if he should find that the enemy had arrived there, "to consider whether it be advisable and practicable to force the port and insult them in the bay." But when he learnt (as soon he did) that the French had not passed the Straits, and clearly had no intention of sheltering in Cadiz, he actually decided, not to proceed to meet them, but to continue hovering between Lagos and Cape Spartel till (to use his own expression) he should "see or hear of them" again![1]

[1] State Papers, Mil. Ent. [1694-1702], IV. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXII. 133; XXV. 136; Miscellaneous, 384. Add. Coll., Leake, 5440, f. 144, 169, 171, 173, 177, 179, 181, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 195: Byng, 31958, f. 75 *et seq.*: Rooke, 15909: Hatton Finch, 29589, f. 392: Godolphin, 28056, f. 58, 78-117, 133, 145: Stepney,

7058, f. 359. Lond. Gaz., April 6—May 15, July 10-13, 1704. Boyer, III. 101-105, App. xxii. Stephen Leake's life of Sir John Leake [1750], 77-83. St. Pierre, 18, 36, 47. Luttrell, I. 423. Burnet, 754-756. Küntzel, 239-241, 248, 309, 313-315, 320-325, 329-335, 339-340, 347-351, 362, 391-398, 458, 470. Quincy, IV. 414-417, 424-425. Limiers, VII. 316. Larrey, III. 243. Lett. Hist. XXVI. 110-111. Millot, II. 317. Reboulet, III. 181. Campbell, III. 224-227; [1779], III. 229. Cannon, 4th Regt. 32; 31st Regt. 7; Marines 6. Nicolas's record of the Royal Marines, I. 9. Burke's peerage, 1872.

CHAPTER VII.

The Surprise of Gibraltar.

Too prudent to venture his ships either in attacking Cadiz or in engaging the French, Rooke, for twelve days longer, in an apparently aimless manner, cruised about the Straits. On July the 28th, when off Tetuan, he received a fourth despatch from Methuen, dated the 17th, reiterating the previous instructions to attack Cadiz; but he was altogether immovable, and Prince George (who during these cruises had been in constant communication with King Charles, the Almirante and Secretary Zinzerling) was obliged to try the last string of his bow. He formally wrote to Rooke proposing to substitute for the attack on Cadiz an attempt on Gibraltar; whereupon, having at last found himself equal to the occasion, the admiral agreed to undertake active measures and to assist the Prince by cannonading the sea front of that fortress. At this time the two Courts and the Allied Ministers at Lisbon were in a state of high indignation at Rooke's conduct; and it was becoming obvious to him that, with the fine fleet at his command, action of some kind, before the winter season commenced, would certainly be expected of him by the English Ministry.

On the 31st, the Allies (numbering fifty-nine sail of the line) being in Tetuan Bay, Rear-Admiral Byng,[1] with a squadron of seventeen ships and three bomb-vessels, sailed for Gibraltar, and anchored in the bay opposite the town, but beyond cannon range of the fortifications. Next day Rooke followed with the remainder of the fleet and took up a position in the north-western bight of the bay. In the afternoon the Prince disembarked with the Marines and the Spaniards, and landed on the Isthmus at Punta Mala.[2] He had no artillery; but with the intention of breaking-

[1] *Rear-Admiral George Byng* (afterwards Lord Torrington) was born in 1663. At the battle of Beachy Head he was flag-lieutenant to Sir George Rooke. At Vigo, in 1702, he commanded the "Nassau," and the following year he became a rear-admiral.

[2] *Note on the View of Gibraltar.*—In the foreground is the point on the Spanish mainland where, in August, 1704, Prince George of Hesse Darmstadt landed with the Marines, previously to the successful surprise of the fortress. The sandy isthmus extends from this point up to the north end of the Rock. Most of the works shown in the view were not in existence at the time of the Bourbon siege in 1704-5. [See Chap. X.] But the low-lying Landport front, the Moorish wall running from it up the hill (both just to the left of the schooner at anchor), the advanced wall ascending the hillside (a little to the right of the tug paddle steamer) and the King's lines connecting these two walls are in the same positions as were the corresponding works during the siege. At the lower end of the advanced wall and the outer end of the King's lines stood the Round Tower (now demolished) which was captured (though not held) by the Bourbons. The line of scarping extending from the Landport front along the foot of the hillside did not then exist; and the Bourbons brought their approaches over the ground now occupied by the Queen's and Prince's lines, which form a continuation of the King's lines beyond the advanced wall. Part of the town is shown adjacent to the Moorish wall. The Old Mole is near the schooner above mentioned, and behind some other vessels lying ahead of her; and on the extreme right of the view is seen the New Mole extending into the bay. It was in front of the sea wall lying between these two moles that Rear-Admiral Byng drew up his attacking squadron. The Signal station is visible at the extremity of the ridge summit of the Rock. It was along the

VIEW OF THE FORTRESS OF GIBRALTAR

From the Mainland at the North-West, shewing the place where the Allies landed in August, 1704, and the scene of the Bourbon Siege, which lasted from that month till May, 1705.

Frontispiece. [*From a photograph.*

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in and assaulting the Landport Gate, should the sea cannonade not be effectual, he took with him a supply of crowbars and hatchets.

The grenadiers having come ashore, a party of thirty horsemen sallied from the gate; but being warmly received they retreated into the place without charging, and with the loss of one trooper. When the whole force had landed, the Prince marched to some old windmills within musket range of the fortifications, where he posted the troops, and thus cut off all communication between the Rock and the mainland. He then sent the governor a summons, together with a letter from King Charles (dated Lisbon, May 5, 1704), demanding that the inhabitants should acknowledge him as their lawful monarch, and adding that, if they should refuse, it would be necessary for his Allies "to adopt such severities as war brings along with it."

Gibraltar is a rocky promontory, three miles long and half a mile wide, jutting into the Mediterranean, and connected at the north to the mainland by a sandy isthmus nearly a mile long. To the west and north-west lies the bay, which is five miles long and the same in width. The eastern side of the Rock, and portions of the northern and southern ends, are precipitous, the highest point being 1,400 feet above the isthmus; whilst on the western side there is a gradual slope, along the northern half of which is situated the town, constituting the actual fortress. At its north end or land front there was (at that time) a weak rampart and ditch; on the western or bay side extended a sea wall, behind which about fifty small guns were mounted; and the south side was closed by a line of

east (or concealed) side of Gibraltar that Figueroa made his ascent, and he scaled the ridge to the southward of the Signal station at a point not seen on the view. [See Chap. X.]

wall and ditch, outside which were two detached works, consisting of a slight redoubt 100 yards distant and the New Mole Fort, 1,000 yards in advance. On the western side, for the convenience of small craft, there were two moles known as the Old and the New, the latter being in front of the fort of that name; but (as now) there was no proper harbour, and the roadstead in the bay was insecure.

The regular force in the garrison amounted only to eighty men ; but they were aided by militia and armed inhabitants, to the number of 470. The governor was Don Diego de Salinas, who on the appearance of the fleet despatched an express to Villadarias, and on receiving the summons convened the Town Council. After a short deliberation they resolved to resist; and on the morning of the 2nd Salinas sent this reply to the Prince.

On receiving information of the governor's decision, Byng drew up his squadron in battle order before the western sea-wall. The weather was calm, and during all that day and night the ships were engaged in warping into their required stations, the fortress occasionally firing on them, but without effecting any material injury. Rooke had given Byng five more ships; and his squadron now comprised sixteen English and six Dutch sail of the line, the latter being under Vanderdussen. The ships carried 1,490 heavy guns (of which half could fire simultaneously), and 8,000 seamen.[1] Byng arranged them in a line from the head of the New Mole to that of the Old, which was at

[1] The English ships were the Ranelagh, 80; the Monmouth, Suffolk, Essex, Grafton, Swiftsure, Nassau, Eagle, Burford, Berwick, Kingston, Lenox and Yarmouth, all of 70; and the Nottingham, Montagu and Monk, of 60. The Dutch vessels were one of 72 guns, one of 66, three of 64 and one of 60.

the north-west angle of the fortress. The English were to the southward, in deep water and close in; whilst the Dutch, at the north, were in shallow water, and hence had to keep farther out. Byng's flagship, the "Ranelagh," 80, was about the centre of the line. In the night Captain Whitaker of the "Dorsetshire," entered the Old Mole with some armed boats, and captured a 10-gun French privateer lying there; whilst at the same time, from his bomb-vessels, Byng plied the town with shells.

Next morning (Sunday, August the 3rd), at 5 a.m., the Prince for the last time summoned the place, and no reply having been received by 6 a.m., Byng commenced the cannonade. Thereupon the priests, women and children fled out of the south gate, and proceeded to a plateau at the extreme south of the Rock, known as Europa Flats, where was a chapel. After about an hour's battering, the smoke being so blinding that nothing could be seen, Byng ordered the lower tiers of the ships alone to be served; and at 11 a.m. he sent Whitaker round the squadron to direct a general cessation of fire.

The garrison had replied bravely, but it was not long before their low-lying, ill-manned batteries were entirely subdued; whilst at the New Mole Fort most of the guns were dismounted and the walls were greatly injured. The "Lenox," Captain Jumper, had been the ship principally engaged with this fort; and when Whitaker arrived on board, he and Jumper agreed that, by an assault with boats, the work could probably be captured. On this being proposed to Byng, he at once acquiesced, and ordered all the nearest ships to assemble their armed boats under the command of Captain Hicks of the "Yarmouth," the senior officer. At the same time Whitaker rowed off to Rooke (who with

the bulk of the fleet was out of range at the head of the bay) with a request that his launches might advance to support Hicks.

Seeing the boats about to start, and apprehensive lest they should be cut off from their relatives in the town, the women and children who had fled to Europa began to retrace their steps. Thereupon at the instance of Sir Cloudesley who was a spectator on board the "Ranelagh," a gun was fired from that ship in such a direction as to frighten them back again. This had the desired effect; but the rest of the squadron mistook the act as a signal to recommence action, and renewed their fire. Under cover of it Hicks and his boats landed at the New Mole, and marched up to assault the fort. But its small garrison had retreated; and whilst part of the seamen under Lieutenant Davenport were entering the work at a breach, and the rest under Hicks were climbing into it over the palisades at the side of the gate, the fort blew up; 100 seamen were killed or wounded, and the remainder ran back to the boats, most of which were sunk by the falling *débris*.

Just then Whitaker arrived with the supporting launches, containing 300 fresh seamen. He at once took possession of the ruined work, and detached Captain Roffey of the "Burford," with a party of fifty men, to occupy the abandoned redoubt lying to the north. He posted the remainder of his force in advantageous positions opposite the south face of the town and established a camp.

Having been apprised of these operations, the Prince despatched another summons to Salinas, who in the evening agreed, if he were granted the honours of war, to surrender. Negotiations then commenced, and hostages were exchanged. On the side of the garrison these were Colonel Pacheco and Captain de Guzman;

and on the part of the Prince, Colonel Nugent and Captain Landschlager. In reply to the Spanish deputies, Byng (who next morning arrived at the Prince's camp) assured them that the women would be efficiently protected and would be allowed to return to the town in safety; and this promise greatly facilitated the arrangements for the surrender. The terms of capitulation were drawn up by the Prince and consisted of seven articles. The garrison were to march out in three days' time, with their arms and baggage, three brass guns and supplies for six days. The inhabitants wishing to stay were to take an oath of fidelity to Charles III., but would retain all the privileges they possessed under Charles II.; and the French subjects would be prisoners of war. These articles having been signed by Darmstadt and Salinas, the Landport Gate was delivered up; and at the Southport Gate the women and children went in unharmed.

On the 6th, accompanied by most of the inhabitants, the little garrison marched out; and the Prince, entering with the troops, took possession of the place for Charles III.[1] On the evening of the 4th Byng had withdrawn all the seamen except the parties in the redoubt and the New Mole Fort; and on the 6th these were relieved by Darmstadt's marines. Thus was won the first foothold obtained by King Charles in Spain.

[1] For the assertion made by Lord Stanhope, Captain Sayer and other English authors of the nineteenth century, that Rooke pulled down the Spanish (or, as some style it, the "Imperial") standard, and hoisted the English, there is not the slightest foundation in fact; and in view of the actual circumstances of the capitulation, the preposterous nature of the idea is sufficiently evident. It appears to have been one of the fabrications of that lively Bourbon writer San Felipe, from whom Lord Stanhope admits he has largely drawn his account of this war. A story of a similar nature that during the attack the English seamen scaled the Rock on its east side is equally apocryphal.

The total loss of the Allies was three officers and fifty-eight men killed, eight officers and 252 men wounded. Hence it is clear that, considering his small force, Salinas had made an excellent defence. In the fortress, among the warlike stores captured, were 114 guns and mortars and 1,750 barrels of powder.[1]

[1] Stowe Coll., Richards, XXV. 136. Add. Coll., Leake, 5440, f. 197: Byng, 31958: Godolphin, 28056, f. 145. Egerton Coll., Haddock Papers, 2521, f. 91. Lond. Gaz., Aug. 14-17, 1704. Boyer, III. 105-107, App. xxii. Stephen Leake, 83-84. Burnet, 757. Küntzel, 260, 335, 367-370, 373, 398, 458, 470. Larrey, III. 245-246. Limiers, VIII. 15. Lett. Hist., XXVI. 334-336. Quincy, IV. 420. Berwick's memoirs [1779], I. 232. Reboulet, III. 209. Ayala's Gibraltar [1785], 135, 142. Millot, II. 317-319. Campbell, III. [1779], 229-231. Cunningham, I. 399. Coxe, I. 241. Drinkwater's siege of Gibraltar [1783]. Personal knowledge of Gibraltar on the part of the writer.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Battle of Malaga.

Rooke had decided to remain at Gibraltar with the fleet to provide (as he said) for its security against attack; but he detached four ships on a cruise to protect some Dutch merchantmen, and he also permitted Wassenaer, with six ships, to proceed to Holland to bring Dutch recruits to Lisbon. Thus at this critical time, and with Toulouse in the immediate vicinity, the Allies were weakened by the loss of ten sail of the line. On August the 12th the admiral crossed over to Ceuta to water; and on the 20th, whilst with a light east wind the fleet (excepting Shovel's squadron, which was still at Ceuta) were cruising off the east of the Rock, the French were sighted about ten leagues to windward.

Since his reinforcement at Toulon by the vessels at that port, Toulouse had sailed in search of Rooke, intending to offer battle; but he had left his galleys at Velez Malaga. Being now certain of Rooke's position, he returned to collect them prior to fighting; for they constituted an important element of his fleet. On his side, Rooke resolved first to obtain half the marines landed at the Rock, and then to lie-to and receive the enemy. In the night he stood in to the Barbary coast to meet Sir Cloudesley (who at once

joined him), and next morning the marines arrived on board; but the French were out of sight.

During this and the following day Rooke worked to the eastward, but failed to meet the enemy. Consequently on the morning of the 23rd, being off Malaga, he determined to return to the Straits, to lay-to there forty-eight hours, and if Toulouse should not appear, to put in to Gibraltar; but in the forenoon the French fleet was sighted to the north-west. On the day before, having been joined by his galleys, Toulouse had sailed for the Straits; and in the night the two fleets had passed each other. The east wind having held, Rooke was now to windward, and an engagement was inevitable. He therefore called in his cruisers, formed his squadrons in order of battle, and bore down on the French admiral, who, on his side, drew up in line with his ships' heads to the south. All that day there was but little wind, so that, although Rooke had the weather gauge, he was unable to utilize his advantage to bring on an action. But next morning (Sunday, the 24th), the French being hove-to in a crescent-shaped line of battle, with their heads to the south, and only three leagues from the Allies, there was sufficient breeze to bring them to close quarters.

The nominal leader of the French was the young Comte de Toulouse, Lord High Admiral of France;[1] but the real one was the experienced D'Estrées now in his eightieth year. Their fleet consisted of fifty-one sail of the line, six frigates, six fireships, five tenders and twenty-eight large galleys, carrying altogether 3,577 guns and 24,275 men. They were in three divisions; the centre being under Toulouse and D'Estrées;

[1] *Louis, Comte De Toulouse*, was a son of Louis XIV. and Madame De Montespan. He was in his twenty-seventh year.

the van (or windward) under Vice-Admiral De Villette, and the rear under Rear-Admiral De Langeron.

The Allied fleet numbered fifty-three sail of the line, six frigates, seven fireships, two bomb-vessels and some tenders, carrying altogether 3,614 guns and 22,543 men. Like the French they were in three divisions; the van of fifteen ships under Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel comprised his own squadron and that of Vice-Admiral Sir John Leake;[1] the centre of twenty-six sail under Sir George Rooke included his own squadron and those of Rear-Admirals Thomas Dilkes and George Byng; the rear formed by twelve Dutch ships was under Lieutenant-Admiral Callenberg and Rear-Admiral Vanderdussen.

At 10 o'clock, almost motionless on the rippling waters, lay a semicircle of wooden castles with the iron muzzles of their guns peering from their numerous portholes, and at their lofty mastheads, in relief against the sky, the white ensigns and golden lilies of the Bourbons. Slowly approaching them in a line of echelon was an equal number of gallant warvessels displaying the red cross of St. George. Leading these on the right was a fine three-decker carrying at the fore the blue flag of Sir John Leake, who was destined to have the honour of opening the engagement. Not far distant at his left rear was the "Barfleur," bearing at the main the broad white pennant of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. No sound was heard

[1] Leake's squadron comprised the flagship Prince George, 90 (Capt. Martin); the three 80-gun two-deckers Newark, Boyne and Norfolk; and the two 70's Yarmouth (Capt. Hicks) and Berwick. Sir Cloudesley's was composed of the two 96-gun three-deckers Namur (Capt. Myngs) and Barfleur (Capt. Stewart); the 70-gun two-deckers Warspite, Orford (Capt. John Norris), Swiftsure and Lenox; the Assurance, 66; the Nottingham, 60; and the Tilbury, 50.

till Leake's ship had brought-to within pistol-shot of Villette's. Then the two fleets began their deadly struggle, and the air was rent with the thunder of their guns.

After more than an hour's hard fighting Villette, greatly disabled, bore out of the line; but the "Prince George" was hardly in better plight, for Leake and Captain Martin were both wounded by splinters, ninety of the crew were *hors-de-combat*, the sails could not be trimmed to work the ship, and all the ammunition for the middle and lower deck guns was expended. Three hours later several other ships of Villette's division were crippled, and the whole of them were (as Sir Cloudesley expressed it) "upon the run." Having achieved this success, though not without much loss, Sir Cloudesley and Leake backed their sails and fell astern to support Rooke and the centre, who had become hotly engaged and were hard pressed by the numerous vessels that Toulouse had concentrated around his flagship the "Tonnant."

Rooke's division was led by his own squadron; next in order came Dilkes's, then Byng's, and lastly (on the left) were the Dutch division.[1] When Rooke's ship the "Royal Catherine" arrived within long gunshot

[1] Rooke's squadron consisted of the two three-deckers Royal Catherine, 90 (Capt. Fletcher) and St. George, 96 (Capt. John Jennings); the Shrewsbury, 80 (Capt. Crowe); the Grafton (Sir Andrew Leake), Nassau (Capt. Boyd), Eagle (Lord Hamilton) and Monmouth (Capt. John Baker), all 70's; the Montagu, 60; and the Panther, 50. Dilkes's squadron was formed of the Kent, 70 (flagship, Capt. Hanway), the Cambridge, 80 and the Royal Oak, 76; the Bedford (Sir Thomas Hardy), Suffolk (Capt. Kirkton) and Burford (Capt. Roffey), 70's; the Monk, 60 (Capt. Mighells); and the Swallow, 50 (Capt. Haddock). Byng's comprised the Ranelagh, 80 (flagship, Capt. Cowe); the Somerset, Dorsetshire (Capt. Edward Whitaker) and Torbay (Capt. Caldwell), 80's; the Essex and Le Ferme (Capt. Wyld), 70's; the Kingston, 60 (Capt. Acton); and the Triton and Centurion, 50's.

of the "Tonnant," he hove-to, head to the southward, and signalled to the rest of his division to do the same. But Byng, being then out of range, disregarded the signal and continued to move up till he could share in the fighting. The Dutch at first kept somewhat backward, but it was not long before the whole line was in action. It was however in the centre that the brunt of the conflict occurred, and here Rooke was overmatched by the French; but he and his ships fought with the greatest bravery, and the struggle was very severe. Later on, a terrible circumstance began to manifest itself on the side of the Allies, and this was a want of ammunition, on account of which no less than nine English ships were obliged to haul out of the line.[1]

Nevertheless the battle continued to be waged with little superiority on either side, and among the vessels most conspicuous were the "Royal Catherine" and the "St. George," which, being directly opposed to the more powerful "Tonnant" and her consorts, suffered heavily. The fighting lasted till dusk, and neither side could be said to have won, though about half an hour before its conclusion Callenberg and the Dutch had beaten Langeron, whose ships were towed out of the battle. About 7 o'clock the conflict ceased, and the two fleets gradually separated. No ship on either side was captured, sunk, or burnt, but many were much shattered; and in the Allied fleet there was scarcely a vessel whose masts, yards and rigging were not split and torn. The "Sérieux," 70, Captain Chamelin, had three times attempted to board the "Monk," 60, Captain Mighells, but each time had been repulsed, and in-

[1] These ships appear to have been the Eagle, Grafton, Monmouth, Nassau, Montagu, Suffolk, Burford, Essex and Kingston. They were among those which had been engaged in cannonading Gibraltar.

variably the galleys had reinforced her diminished crew.

On the side of the English the principal individual loss was that of the gallant Sir Andrew Leake. His ship, the "Grafton," 70, had been one of the foremost in Rooke's squadron. She was closely engaged, and for lack of ammunition had eventually to sheer away, but not before a large proportion of her crew were killed. During the action Sir Andrew received a mortal wound, which having been dressed and bandaged, he caused himself to be wrapped in a large cloth, placed in an arm-chair and brought on deck, where he remained till he died. Captain Cowe of the "Ranelagh" and Lieutenant Jennings of the "St. George" were also killed; whilst Captains John Baker of the "Monmouth," Myngs of the "Namur" and Kirkton of the "Suffolk," were wounded. The ships that suffered most were the "Lenox," "Monk," "Grafton" and "Shrewsbury," which lost nearly a fourth of their crews; and the "Monmouth," "St. George," "Royal Catherine," "Kingston" and "Tilbury," which lost from a fifth to a sixth. The total loss of the Allies was 2,718 (of whom 2,358 were among the English); 787 were killed (695 being English); and 1,931 were wounded.

On the side of the French, the casualties were 3,048. Among their killed were Admirals De Belleisle and Lorraine; whilst the Comte De Toulouse, Vice-Admiral De Relingue and Rear-Admirals (or Commodores) Du Casse, Chateau Renaud, Philippeaux, Comingues and Valincourt were wounded. During the action the French derived great advantage from their galleys. These kept under the shelter of the ships, supplied them with men and ammunition, took off the wounded, towed the disabled vessels out of the

line, and being armed with large pieces like carronades not infrequently did considerable execution on their own account.

Next morning the two fleets were about three leagues apart; but the wind had shifted to north-west, and the French were to windward. Having been occupied all night in repairing their hulls, masts and rigging, and in preparing for further fighting, the Allies sent their most crippled ships to leeward and again drew up in line of battle, heading north-east. The French did the same, but refrained from bearing down and declined to renew the fight. Rooke continued to refit his ships, and carefully redistributed his remaining ammunition; but in the afternoon he resolved to return to Gibraltar. At this time, if Toulouse and D'Estrées had acted with more spirit, it can hardly be doubted that Rooke would have been defeated; for, as a matter of fact, his ammunition was insufficient to carry him through another engagement.

In the evening he tacked and stood south-west, the French doing the same; and next morning the latter were about five leagues to the westward. At 7 o'clock a fresh breeze sprang up from the east, and with the hope of cutting his way through the French fleet and reaching Gibraltar, Rooke bore down in line of battle. However Toulouse kept his distance; and in the night, having doubled northward, he steered for Toulon. On the morning of the 27th he was out of sight, and Rooke continued his course to Gibraltar. The same afternoon (through some accident), the Dutch ship "Albemarle," 64, blew up, and excepting nine or ten men, all her crew were lost. On the 30th the Allies anchored in the bay of Gibraltar.

Rooke then supplied the Prince with all his available marines, sixty gunners, twelve carpenters, sixty heavy

guns, the bomb-vessels "Star" and "Terror," and three months' provisions for 2,000 men. On September the 21st, after having waited a considerable time for a fair wind, the fleet left the bay and sailed for England. On October the 5th Rooke, with the bulk of the ships, arrived at Spithead ;[1] but sixteen sail of the line under the command of Leake had been left at Lisbon as a winter squadron.[2]

[1] By the people of England the news of the surprise of Gibraltar and the battle of Malaga, was coldly received. And although knighthoods were bestowed on Dilkes, Byng, Jennings, Whitaker and Jumper, yet, on January 6, 1705, Rooke himself was "set aside," *i.e.*, placed on the retired list. [By some authors it is stated that he resigned, but this was certainly not the case.] Four years afterwards, at the age of fifty-nine, he died from an attack of gout. He was an honest, upright man, with a stern, resolute manner. When acting in a subordinate capacity, he was an excellent officer; but when in command, his natural courage was overwhelmed by his sense of responsibility.

[2] Add. Coll., Leake, 5440, f. 142, 201, 203, 209, 211: Byng, 31958: Rooke, 31242, f. 2, 80; 15909: Stepney, 7058, f. 359: Malet, 32096, f. 67. Lond. Gaz., Sept. 14-21, 1704. Boyer, III. 107-109, 112, App. xxii.-xxiv. Stephen Leake, 87-94. Küntzel, 395, 453. Burnet, 758. Cunningham, I. 400. Quincy, IV. 426-430. Larrey, III. 246-248. Limiers, VIII. 15-17. Hippeau, I. 195. Lett. Hist. XXVI. 338-339. Campbell, III. 231-254; IV. 70-76. Tindal, XV. 665. Millot, II. 322. Reboulet, II. 209.

CHAPTER IX.

The Campaign in Portugal.

The English forces assembled in Portugal amounted to 6,500 men,[1] and were commanded by the Duke of Schomberg and Leinster. Under him were Lieutenant-Generals the Earl of Portmore and Hugh Wyndham, with Brigadier-Generals Daniel Harvey (commanding the horse) and Thomas Brudenell. The adjutant-general was Colonel George Wade; the quartermaster-general, Brigadier-General Floyd; the chief engineer, Colonel Carles; and the commandant of the train, Lieutenant-Colonel Borgard.[2] The Dutch contingent

[1] The English troops were composed of Harvey's Horse (afterwards the 2nd Dragoon Guards); the Royal Dragoons (still known as such); Portmore's (late Bellasis's), Stewart's (afterwards the 9th), Stanhope's (afterwards the 11th), Barrymore's (afterwards the 13th), Blood's (afterwards the 17th), Duncanson's (afterwards the 33rd), Brudenell's and Mountjoy's Foot; and a small train. Of the above-named officers, Stewart, Barrymore, Blood and Mountjoy took no part in the expedition. Brigadier-General Holcroft Blood was chief engineer and commandant of the train with the English army in Flanders. The Royal Dragoons were under Colonel Robert Killigrew, who subsequently served as a brigadier-general.

[2] *Meinhardt, Duke of Schomberg and Leinster*, was the second son of the renowned marshal, the first Duke of Schomberg, who

under Lieutenant-General Fagel and Major-General Frisheim numbered 3,500 men. The whole Portuguese force available for the field and fortresses consisted of 20,000 men. Serving with them (under the terms of the treaty) were Major-Generals O'Farrell and De Montandre, with Colonels Lundy and John Richards.[1]

had been killed at the Boyne. In this battle Meinhardt had also taken part; and on account partly of his own, and partly of his father's services, he had been created Duke of Leinster. He spoke the Portuguese language, and was about forty-nine years of age. He was noted for his hot temper. *Lieutenant-General Hugh Wyndham*, born about 1649, was an experienced officer of cavalry. At the Boyne, at the siege of Limerick (where he had distinguished himself), at Steinkirk, and at Landen (where again he was conspicuous for bravery), he had commanded Wyndham's Horse (afterwards the 6th Dragoon Guards). In one of these actions he had lost an arm. He was highly esteemed by Lord Galway. [In his valuable "History of the Grenadier Guards," Sir Frederick Hamilton accidentally mistakes this officer for a guardsman named Edmund Windham.] *Brigadier-General Thomas Brudenell* had fought at the battle of Aghrim, where he was wounded. *Colonel George Wade* (afterwards Field-marshal Wade) had served in Flanders. He was now thirty-six years of age. *Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Borgard*, a native of Denmark, was born in 1659. In the Danish army, and afterwards with the Prussians, he had seen much service. He took part in the great sieges of Buda, Bonn and Maintz, and afterwards in the battle of Stzlankerman. In 1692 he joined the English in Flanders as a firemaster of the train. As such he shared in the battles of Steinkirk and Landen and in the siege of Namur. In 1699, when the train was reduced, in order to retain him in the army, he was given a sinecure appointment on the establishment of the King's engineers, but he was not an engineer by profession, nor did he afterwards act as one. In 1702 at Cadiz and Vigo (as major of the train) he had commanded the bomb-vessels.

[1] *Major-General De Montandre* and *Colonel Lundy* were Huguenot refugees. Montandre subsequently attained the rank of field-marshal in the British army. *Colonel John Richards* was an officer of artillery, who had served with the Venetians against the Turks. Afterwards he had joined the Poles, whom in 1703 he left to assist the Portuguese. Being a Roman Catholic, he was unable to hold the Queen's commission; but he was a well-educated, scientific

In May, 1704, the Allied army ready for the campaign mustered 700 horse and 20,300 foot. Of these, 12,000 were in Alemtejo, and 9,000 in Beira. According to Portuguese regulations the Governor of Arms of a province commanded in chief the whole of the troops therein, native and foreign; consequently in Alemtejo the generalissimo was the Count De Las Galveas, a man between eighty and ninety years of age; and in Beira the commander was the Marquis Das Minas, a man of seventy, but withal active and enterprising. It having been decided that the garrisons of the frontier fortresses should be reinforced by English troops, Stanhope's regiment was sent to Portalegre, and Stewart's to Castel Vide, whilst the remainder joined the force under Las Galveas.

Since landing in March, owing to the bad arrangements of the Portuguese authorities, the English and Dutch had lost many men from disease. Most of them had been encamped at Belleisle, a bleak place near Lisbon, where, the weather having been inclement, much sickness had occurred. The hospital accommodation was very defective; Schomberg amused himself in Lisbon and took but little concern in the comfort of his troops; and many casualties were the result. At the outset of the campaign, owing to this general's want of tact, a serious misunderstanding occurred between him and Fagel, whereupon the Dutch commander resolved to separate his troops from the English and to join Das Minas in Beira. Hence early in May, whilst Las Galveas and Schomberg, with about 5,000 Portuguese and 4,200 English,[1] posted themselves in the neigh-

officer, and his clearly-written journals throw much light on the history of this war. He was highly esteemed by the Duke of Marlborough, to whom he was well known.

[1] Of the English cavalry, only a detachment of Harvey's took

bourhood of Elvas, Fagel and the Dutch, who only numbered 1,900 foot and 100 horse, marched towards Idanha.

In the meantime Louis XIV. had sent a French army into Spain under the command of Lieutenant-General the Duc de Berwick,[1] consisting of nineteen squadrons, eighteen battalions and a good train, and numbering in all 12,000 men; whilst on his side Philip V. had collected a field army of 6,000 horse and 17,000 foot. On February the 15th Berwick arrived at Madrid, and having been commissioned as a captain-general of Spain, took command of the French and Spanish troops. Finding himself at the head of a force both more numerous and of better quality than that of the Allies, he resolved to carry the war into Portugal. His combined army mustered 28,000 men, and these he divided into three corps. The first, of 14,000 men, was led by himself; the second, of 5,000, by the Spanish general Tzerclaes de Tilly; and the third, of 9,000, by Ronquillo the captain-general of Old Castille. It was arranged that Berwick should enter Portugal by the right bank of the Tagus, Tzerclaes by the left, and Ronquillo by Almeida in Beira.

On May the 3rd Philip arrived at Berwick's camp at Alcantara in Estremadura, and next day the invasion commenced. On the 8th Lieutenant-General D'Aguilar

the field, the remainder being without horses. Before leaving Portugal the French ambassador had considerately bought up all the best troop horses to be found in Alemtejo.

[1] *James, Duc de Berwick,* was a son of James II. and Arabella Churchill, and was born in 1670. The principal actions in which he had served were the siege of Buda, the battle of Mohacz, the siege of Londonderry, the battle of the Boyne, the defence of Limerick, the siege of Mons and the battles of Steinkirk and Landen. As a scientific, careful commander, his reputation was very high.

invested Salvatierra, defended by 500 Portuguese, who in two days surrendered as prisoners of war. On being summoned, the small fortresses of Segura, Rosmarinos, Cabreros and Pena Garcia capitulated in a similar manner. After three days' investment the somewhat stronger Monsanto submitted; whilst Idanha-la-Vieilha, having rejected the summons, was assaulted and carried sword-in-hand.

Up to this time the Bourbons had been unopposed by any field army, but as they marched towards Castel Branco they learnt that Fagel was advancing up the Tagus. Berwick at once detached Lieutenant-General De Thouy with a force of 4,000 men to attack him, and with the main body besieged Castel Branco, which in four days surrendered. On ascertaining the proximity of the enemy, Fagel withdrew in the direction of Sobrera Formosa; but finding it difficult to subsist his horse, he sent most of them by a circuitous route through Beira to join Das Minas. Detaching Frisheim with two battalions to Villa Velha, he proceeded with the remainder to Zarcedas, where he posted Brigadier-General Welderen with two battalions behind a fordable rivulet, retiring himself with a few horse to Sobrera Formosa, four miles distant. On the 27th Thouy arrived at Zarcedas and surrounded Welderen, who, after firing one volley, surrendered with his troops as prisoners of war. On this, Fagel and Frisheim retreated to Abrantes.

Meanwhile Las Galveas and Schomberg remained inactive at the fortress of Estremos, where they had taken up their position when news was received of Berwick's successes. But Tzerclaes had been equally supine, and had feared to stir lest Las Galveas should sever his communications. Disappointed at this delay, Berwick marched to Villa Velha, crossed the Tagus and proceeded

to Portalegre, where he found Tzerclaes, who at last had been induced to move. The siege of Portalegre was then decided on, Lieutenant-General D'Asfeld (who was formerly an engineer) being entrusted with the operation. The governor was the Portuguese Major-General Figueytedo. The garrison numbered 1,000 regulars, consisting of Stanhope's and two Portuguese battalions, besides some militia; and the English engineer was Captain Lewis Petit. D'Asfeld (who was very skilful in siege warfare) at once placed some guns in battery on a nearly inaccessible eminence commanding the town and opened fire. Dispirited by attack from an unexpected quarter, Figueytedo and the Portuguese without resistance delivered up the place, including the English troops, and surrendered as prisoners of war.[1] Berwick then advanced northward with a strong force to watch the movements of Das Minas, who was threatening him from Beira.

At the beginning of the campaign Das Minas had encamped near Almeida with eighteen squadrons and eighteen battalions, numbering 9,000 men, all Portuguese except two battalions which were Dutch. It had been his wish to enter Leon in order to seize and plunder the rich, ill-fortified town of Ciudad Rodrigo; and with this object he was already on the march, when on June the 3rd, much to his dissatisfaction, he received orders from the King to proceed southward to check Ronquillo, who was already in Beira ravaging the country. Accordingly he altered his course, and having captured and pillaged the small town of Fuente Guinaldo (held by three companies of Spanish foot), arrived on the 11th in the vicinity of Monsanto (about ten miles south of Penamacor). Here, in the afternoon, he came in sight of Ronquillo's horse drawn up in

[1] At this time Colonel Stanhope was ill at Lisbon.

battle array, consisting of twenty-one squadrons (chiefly French).

Deeming himself unable to oppose the Portuguese, the Spanish general had already begun to retire from Beira, and had sent to the rear the whole of his foot and artillery. But he now vigorously charged the Portuguese horse, part of whom fled without resistance; though some of the squadrons, under the personal command of Das Minas (who placed himself at the head of his own troop of guards), fought bravely; and had it not been for the armour which he wore, that general himself would have been cut to pieces. When the Portuguese foot came up, Ronquillo drew off his horsemen, but conducted his retreat with order and skill. At length Colonel Richards managed to bring some guns to the front, and employed them with such good effect that the Bourbons retired more hastily and were pursued till nightfall. In this action Ronquillo lost 200 men. On its conclusion he retreated to Salvatierra, and thence to Zarra.

Next day the fortress of Monsanto, with its garrison of 120 French, surrendered at discretion and was ruthlessly plundered by the Portuguese. On the 16th Das Minas continued his march, and encamped on the Ponsul about eight miles from Castel Branco, at which latter place Berwick had just arrived from Portalegre. On hearing this, the Portuguese general (by the advice of Richards) decided to retire to the mountain fortress of Penamacor, where he arrived on the 19th and encamped under the walls.[1] Judging his

[1] The barbarity of the Portuguese and their ignorance of the rules of civilized warfare were something astounding. The following is an extract from the diary of Colonel Richards when on the march with the army of Das Minas:—"June 5th. This night happened a very scurvy accident. Don Pedro de Vasconçuelos, Lieutenant-General of Horse, going the rounds with a party of horse to visit the advanced posts, met with a Dutch advanced

position too strong to be attacked, Berwick detached D'Aguilar to watch him, and with the remainder of his force returned to King Philip and D'Asfeld. Shortly afterwards the Portuguese Major-General San Juan, whilst foraging near Zibreira with a party of horse, had the good fortune to meet a weakly-escorted French convoy, which he attacked and captured, taking (besides many prisoners) 150 beasts laden with bread and wine, and three waggons of ammunition.

At this time Villadarias arrived from Andalusia with 4,000 Spaniards to reinforce the Bourbon army, and on the 21st D'Asfeld commenced the siege of Castel Vide, which was not strong, but had a good castle. The garrison, 900 in number, was composed of Stewart's regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Hussey and two Portuguese battalions, the whole being under a Portuguese officer. On the 25th, before a breach had been made, the latter expressed a wish to treat for terms, whereupon Hussey threw his men into the castle and determined to hold it. The governor then surrendered the town, but Berwick declined to accept it until the whole garrison had capitulated. After holding out for another twenty-four hours Hussey proceeded to negotiate with Berwick for the honours of war, which the French general refused to grant; and during Hussey's absence the Portuguese managed to throw his powder down a well. Nothing was then left for him but to submit with his regiment as prisoners of war.

guard. The Dutch sentinel, after their usual way, cried out, '*Wer da*' (which is as much as to say 'Who is there?') several times, which the Portuguese not understanding, attacked them sword in hand, killed downright one Dutchman, and mortally wounded several others; and although this horrible ignorance of theirs how to treat with an advanced guard is scarcely excusable, much less was their brutality, after knowing who they were, to strip and plunder the dead and wounded as they did."

With this capture ended the campaign; for about the beginning of July the weather became very hot, and this of itself prevented the Bourbons from pursuing their operations. But there were also other reasons: the French horses were unable to stand the climate and forage of Portugal; the Spanish foot were without shoes or proper clothing; and among the Bourbons generally there had been considerable desertion. On July the 1st Berwick broke up his camps and bridges, and retreated into Spanish territory. With the exception of Salvatierra, Marvao and Segura, he demolished all the fortresses he had captured, and abandoned them. King Philip then left for Madrid; whilst Berwick proceeded to Salamanca; Tzerclaes, to Badajoz; D'Aguilar, to Alcantara; and Villadarias, to Andalusia.

On the 20th Das Minas returned to Almeida, where he placed his army in summer quarters; and the Allied commanders in Alemtejo also dispersed their troops, the English proceeding to Beira; but during the campaign, except Stanhope's and Stewart's regiments, none of the English had been actively engaged. At their own request Schomberg and Portmore were now recalled to England; and the Portuguese Court were not sorry to lose the former general, who during his short stay in the country had quarrelled with everybody except the enemy.

The commander chosen by Marlborough to succeed Schomberg was the Earl of Galway, who arrived at Lisbon on August the 10th,[1] and on the 30th was at Guarda with the two Kings and their ministers. The troops then began to assemble at Almeida for the autumn campaign. During this month news had been received of the surprise of Gibraltar; and soon it became known

[1] For a short description of the past career of THE EARL OF GALWAY, see Note B.

that most of the Spanish foot had been ordered into Andalusia under Villadarias to recover that fortress. It had been the wish of Grammont, the French ambassador at Madrid, that Berwick himself should proceed to Gibraltar with a strong French contingent to direct the siege operations. But that general had peremptorily refused, the French force in Spain being (in his opinion) barely sufficient for the defence of the frontiers against the Allies. On September the 1st he collected his available troops and encamped at Castras, sixteen miles in rear of Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 13th he advanced to the Agueda, along which river he intended to establish his line of defence; and in a few days he was joined from Estremadura by the Spanish Lieutenant-General De Bay with 1,500 horse.

On the side of the Allies the two Kings had announced their intention of accompanying the army; and at Guarda, in their presence, there had been several councils of war. It was resolved to cross the frontier and to capture Ciudad Rodrigo; and on the 20th the Courts and the generals left Guarda for the camp at Almeida. At this time Das Minas was generalissimo of the whole army, which numbered 3,000 horse and 17,000 foot.[1] After inspecting the troops and observing the bad arrangements made by the Portuguese for the victualling and transport of the army, Galway endeavoured to dissuade the Allied commanders from entering Spain, but without avail. Das Minas and the Portuguese, who thought of little else but plunder, were strongly in favour of the attempt; and the English general was overruled.

On the 26th, accompanied by the Kings, the army

[1] The English horse included Harvey's and the mounted men of the Royal Dragoons.

advanced towards the Agueda, and on October the 2nd encamped near its left bank. Berwick, who excelled in defensive operations, had occupied the fords by intrenchments along the right bank, had posted the bulk of his foot in a strong central position in rear, and had drawn up his horse in readiness to scour the intervening plain. But such was the state of the Portuguese commissariat that, for five days, the Allies were detained in camp for want of bread; and it was not till the 7th that, in eight columns, and preceded by the train, they advanced to the Agueda. For some hours Richards battered the Bourbon intrenchments, and the enemy replied, whilst the Allied troops lay on their arms awaiting the signal to advance. But this was never given; for at the last moment the Portuguese thought the passage of the river too hazardous. It was decided to retreat, and next day the Allies retired into Portugal.

Soon afterwards, the season being too far advanced for any new enterprise, they separated into winter quarters, and Berwick did the same. But through his disregard of the instructions he had received concerning Gibraltar, the French commander had rendered himself unacceptable to King Philip and the French ambassador, and was recalled to France.[1]

[1] State Papers, Mil. Ent. [1702-4], VI. 54, 237, 263; Dom. Anne [1704], 228. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXI. 131, 132; XXIV. 135. Add. Coll., Ordnance, 5795, ff. 236-243: Hatton Finch, 29590, ff. 421-474; Stepney, 7058, f. 359; Godolphin, 28056, f. 78, 92, 106, 119, 124, 138, 140, 145, 149, 157, 165, 168, 170, 172, 174, 192. Calendars of Treasury Papers, LXII. 319; XCI. 29; XCVII. 113. Lond. Gaz., March 9-13, May 25-June 15, June 29-July 3, July 10-13, Aug. 3-7, Dec. 21-25, 1704. Boyer, III. 127-136. St. Pierre, 9-22, 82. Impartial Inquiry into the Management of the War in Spain [1712], (republished in 1726 as a "History" of the War), App. 1-2. Coxe, I. 240. Cunningham, I. 408. Cannon, 2nd Dragoon Gds. 23; 9th Regt. 15, 16; 11th Regt., 19, 20.

Duncan, I. 83-93. Lett. Hist. XXIV. 368-370; XXVI. 108; XXIX. 109. Berwick, I. 204-223, 232-249. Quincy, IV. 217-219. Targe, III. 337. Campbell [1779], III. 54. Somerville, 68. Tessé, II. 136-138. Millot, II. 331-332. Duclos' mémoires, II. 12.

CHAPTER X.

The Defence of Gibraltar.

After the surprise of Gibraltar, the principal duties of the Prince lay in the repair, strengthening and re-armament of the fortifications.[1] The land, or north front of the Rock, eastward, consisted of the natural obstacle afforded by a rocky precipice; and westward, was formed by an artificial low-level line of defence known as the Landport curtain, abutting on the right against the hill, and finished on the left by the North bastion, one face of which fronted the bay. This line was virtually prolonged to the left by the Old Mole, which projected into the bay and formed a battery; and to the right, by a line of wall running up the hillside and

[1] Before the fleet left Gibraltar, Rear-Admiral Byng claimed for the seamen, and actually carried away as booty, all the valuable bronze guns found in the New Mole Fort except two which happened to be engraved with Prince George's arms (having been cast at Barcelona whilst he was viceroy). The Prince protested, but in vain; and subsequently the same admiral and several of the captains (clearly with Rooke's concurrence) demanded also the wine of the place, alleging that they had bought it; but since, by the terms of the capitulation, it was not in the power of the people to sell it, the Prince refused to give it up. In revenge, the seamen, encouraged by their officers, mercilessly plundered the houses of the poor inhabitants; and much disorder ensued. To the English general at Lisbon the Prince wrote: "Jamais j'ai vu pareilles choses;" Rooke (he said) had certainly supplied him with provisions, guns and gunners; "mais en échange toute la ville a esté bien pillée."

forming part of an old Moorish castle. About 200 yards in advance of this wall, and parallel to it, was another, much weaker, resting on the right against the foot of a sheer precipice, and on the left on a round tower erected a short distance up the hill. Connecting this tower to the castle wall was a communication or trench, known as the King's lines. The Prince now constructed new batteries on the edge of the precipice overlooking the advanced wall, from which position a plunging fire could be poured into a besieger's trenches. At this time the troops in garrison were 1,900 English marines, seventy-two English seamen, 400 Dutch marines and seventy Catalans; altogether 2,442 men.[1]

To undertake the formal duties of governor, the Prince (acting for King Charles) appointed Colonel Henry Nugent (Count of Val De Soto), and gave him the Spanish rank of major-general. The marines were under Brigadier-General Fox, second to whom was Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Borr of Fox's regiment; whilst the Catalans, and such armed inhabitants of the town as had joined the garrison, were commanded by Basset-y-Ramos and Prince Henry.

[1] With regard to the fortifications, see the View of the Rock and the note thereon (p. 52). In reference to the garrison, it may here be observed that, before quitting Gibraltar, Rooke had written both to King Charles and to King Pedro, requesting them to supply the whole of its garrison, and thereby to liberate the marines for service on board the fleet. On September the 2nd Secretary Hedges, in a letter to Mr. Stepney the ambassador at Vienna, expressed the same wish. But in August, when writing to the Earl of Galway (his old comrade in the Irish campaigns) who was then in England, the Prince urged him to use all his credit at Court in regard to Gibraltar, "afin que Sa Majesté la Reine la prenne, estant de telle importance, à son compte, et dessous sa protection, Sa Majesté Catholique n'estant pas en estat encore, vous savez, de le faire luy-même." And on October the 10th the secretary to the Lord High Admiral informed Leake (then at Lisbon) that, though the expense of maintaining the place should properly devolve on the two Kings, the Queen had decided to bear it.

As early as August a Spanish force under Villadarias, destined to besiege the fortress, had been marching towards it; on the 24th an advance guard of 600 horse and 500 foot had reached the vicinity and begun to blockade the place, and on September the 3rd Villadarias himself had arrived.

In the meantime a squadron intended to convey French troops and a large train to take part in the approaching siege had been fitting out at Toulon under Rear-Admiral Pointis. On October the 4th, or only a fortnight after Rooke's departure, the French admiral, with fourteen sail of the line, seventeen frigates and numerous transports, entered the bay and anchored at the head of it. On the 8th, having landed the troops, guns and stores, and leaving behind some frigates and smaller craft, Pointis sailed for Cadiz. From that port, whilst being at hand to aid the Bourbon siege-army, he could intercept supplies or reinforcements sent from Lisbon, and could threaten any Allied squadron that might lie off the Rock.

The French troops consisted of 3,000 marines, 500 seamen-gunners and 500 horse; and accompanying them as chief engineer was Colonel Renaud. By this time 8,000 Spanish troops had encamped on the isthmus, and the combined besieging army numbered 12,000 men.[1] Under Villadarias were the Spanish lieutenant-generals D'Ossuna, D'Aguilar and D'Avaray; whilst the Spanish chief engineer, to whom was entrusted

[1] Just before the commencement of the siege the Prince discovered the existence of a traitorous correspondence with the enemy, conducted by three officers of the garrison in concert with some of the townspeople. The officers were Colonel Gonzales, Colonel D'Usson and a captain, all Spaniards (who had embarked with the Prince at Lisbon). The civilians were a lawyer named Hopper, a merchant named Brown, and some Franciscan monks. The conspirators were tried by court-martial. Gonzales was

the direction of the siege, was Don Bernardo Eligazarai, whose train comprised forty guns and twelve mortars.

On the night of the 21st the Bourbons opened trenches at 800 yards from the Landport curtain, and three days later constructed batteries, from which on the 27th they directed a fire against the Round tower. But their principal work was one of twenty guns against the curtain, and this soon afterwards joined in the attack.

On the arrival of Pointis in the bay the Prince had sent word of it to Lisbon by the "Lark" frigate, which arrived on the 11th. Since that day Leake had been engaged in preparing his squadron to sail with supplies and ammunition for the beleaguered fortress. On November the 5th he left Lisbon with thirteen English sail of the line, six Dutch (under Vanderdussen) and four victuallers, bringing with him 200 barrels of powder and provisions sufficient to last the garrison for seven months. With the ships Galway sent Captain Joseph Bennet, an experienced Queen's engineer; for as yet there was no English officer of that nature at Gibraltar. On the 9th the admiral suddenly appeared off the bay and surprised the ships left there by Pointis, consisting of two frigates of thirty-six guns, one of sixteen, a fire-ship of twenty-four, two English prizes, an armed tartan and a storeship. One of the frigates made sail, but was chased and captured by the "Swallow." The rest the enemy drew close in shore and set on fire.

sentenced to death and shot; D'Usson was sent to Lisbon as a prisoner for disposal by King Charles; and the two inhabitants were turned out of the fortress with halters round their necks. In a letter to the King dated October 19, the Prince wrote: "Binn ich also alhier von innen und von aussen mit Feinden umgeben, hoffe aber zu Gott wohl noch aus allem mich zu ziehen."

Meanwhile Eligazarai had pushed forward his approaches, increased the number of his batteries and opened a tremendous fire; breaches had been made in the tower and curtain; and the garrison had lost a great number of officers and men. The Prince had replied skilfully and vigorously, but his artillery was gradually subdued by the powerful attack of the Spanish engineer. On the 9th Nugent, the governor, was mortally wounded; Fox was killed by a round shot; and a large proportion of the defenders lay disabled or sick.

On the 10th Villadarias had intended to have delivered a grand night assault, and for this purpose had collected a great many boats, in which 3,000 men were to have been brought up to attack the New Mole Fort and to attempt a landing at Europa Point. At the same time the two breaches were to have been stormed, and the Rock scaled on the eastward (or precipitous) side, where it was expected that the garrison would be more off their guard. Through Leake's opportune arrival the boat and breach assaults had to be abandoned, but the Spanish general still thought the surprise at the east worth a trial; and on the night of the 10th an advanced party of 500 Spaniards under Colonel De Figueroa started for their destination.

Led by a Gibraltar goatherd, they proceeded along the dangerous eastern side of the Rock by an almost unknown track, and gradually ascending its steep and rugged slope, reached the summit at a place called the Silleta. This was midway between the southern end of the ridge (now O'Hara's tower) and the Signal station guard at the centre of it. A little below the Silleta, on the western side, is a cave known as St. Michael's; and here, concealed from the view of the guard, Figueroa waited to be joined by the main body

of the assaulters. But through some misunderstanding these never arrived, and at daybreak the adventurous party were discovered by the garrison. The Prince at once sent a detachment of 500 marines under Borr to dislodge them. The grenadiers were led by Prince Henry, who, whilst bravely ascending the hill under the fire of the Spaniards, was wounded in the shoulder. Borr charged them briskly, killed 200 and took 190 prisoners, amongst whom were Figueroa and thirty-three other officers; whilst the remainder escaped by the way they came.

Next day Darmstadt requested Leake to assist him with the seamen of the squadron in a sortie on the Spanish trenches, but on account of the under-manned state of his ships the admiral was unable to comply. Nevertheless he furnished the Prince with 250 men to relieve the soldiers of the guards at the south of the fortress, and with 300 workmen to assist in the repair of the fortifications; he also provided him with medicines and many other stores.

On the 24th the admiral made a feint of landing men from his boats at the head of the bay, and alarmed the Spanish camp; but on the 30th, having received advice from his scouting ships that by all appearances Pointis was about to attack him from Cadiz, he moved his squadron to the western side of the bay, where he would be in a better position to receive the enemy. On the night of December the 4th it blew a gale from the east, whereby the ships were placed in great danger and most of the Dutch lost their anchors and cables. Hence on the 7th, when the wind changed, the admiral returned to his former anchorage off the Rock, and arranged with the Prince that the ships should put to sea in order to protect the transports carrying the reinforcements shortly expected from

Lisbon. On the 13th he sailed, but the westerly wind prevented him from making much progress towards the mouth of the Straits.

All this time the Bourbon fire had been unceasingly maintained; the breaches in the curtain and the tower were daily becoming wider; and a third was pierced in the wall on the right of the tower, from which the approaches were only fifty paces distant. But every night, with great energy, Bennet removed from the foot of the principal (or curtain) breach all the rubbish that had accumulated, and threw it up as a mask in front, thus keeping the escarp itself inaccessible, and raising the low counterscarp. He also constructed a strong retrenchment behind the rampart, pallisaded the covered way and ditch, and drove mine galleries under the glacis to a distance of 150 paces.

The number of the garrison had now become much reduced, and on December the 2nd only 1,000 men were fit for duty. However the heavy rains which had set in had seriously delayed the attackers; for their trenches were inundated, their fire hindered, and their camp much incommoded. Moreover, owing to their privations and hard work, many of the Spaniards deserted; and among the rest there was much sickness.

On the 14th a ship arrived from Lisbon in advance of the reinforcements, having on board Colonel Lundy, Lieutenant-Colonel Rieutort and Lieutenant-Colonel D'Harcourt, all of them experienced officers, who had been sent by Galway to assist the Prince.[1] They an-

[1] All these officers were Huguenot exiles. *Lieutenant-Colonel William Rieutort* had served in La Mellonière's regiment during two campaigns in Ireland. Afterwards he had fought under Schomberg and Galway in Piedmont. In 1702 he distinguished himself at the defence of Landau. He had recently come from England on the staff of Lord Galway, and he now became Prince George's chief

nounced that in a few days the fresh troops might be expected, whilst from King Charles and Galway they brought letters of great praise and encouragement. These the Prince caused to be read on parade to the soldiers, who thereby were much inspirited. They had begun to feel disheartened at their losses and heavy work, and many of the officers had actually formed a mutinous conspiracy against the Prince to oblige him to yield the fortress.[1]

As soon as it had been known in Lisbon that Gibraltar was being besieged, it had been at once resolved by Galway, Methuen and the two Courts, that the garrison should be succoured. During November 3,000 troops had arrived from England;[2] and Galway had arranged that the Guards, Donegal's, Barrymore's and Waes's Dutch, numbering in all 2,500 men, should be sent to the relief of the Prince. It was not till December the 20th that everything was prepared, and the twenty transports conveying the troops were ready to sail. On that day, escorted by the frigates "Antelope," "Newcastle," "Greenwich" and "Roebuck," under Captain Ley of the "Antelope," the expedition left the Tagus. In command of the troops was Brigadier-

aide-de-camp. His treatise on certain portions of this war (refuting Freind's account) is of the most valuable nature.

[1] It is painful to be obliged to record the fact that the leader of this second conspiracy against the Prince was Major Harry Lawrence of Fox's Marines. With him were associated a Dutch major, and no less than fifteen other officers of lesser rank, whose nationalities are not recorded. It was their object to force the Prince to deliver up the fortress to the enemy, and for this purpose they had even endeavoured to enlist the influence of Sir John Leake. On the discovery of the mutiny, Lawrence and his colleagues were tried by court-martial and sentenced to death, but soon afterwards were pardoned and reinstated.

[2] These troops included Conyngham's (Irish) Dragoons (afterwards the 8th Hussars) under Lieutenant-Colonel John Pepper (who, later on, became their colonel); a battalion of the Guards

General Shrimpton, with whom was Brigadier-General the Earl of Donegal;[1] and on board the ships was a supply of ammunition, with a month's provisions for 3,000 men. The French admiral was now provided with the opportunity for which he had been waiting; and knowing that, with the fresh west wind, Leake's squadron from Gibraltar would find it difficult to pass the Straits, he conceived the design of swooping suddenly on the convoy and carrying them bodily into Cadiz harbour.

On the 17th, when the transports were off Cape Spartel, they sighted to leeward a fleet of twenty-two sail bearing English and Dutch colours. Believing them to be Leake's squadron, Ley steered to meet them. The wind feil light; and as he slowly neared them, he found they were hove-to in the form of a half-moon. In order to satisfy the doubts which began to arise in his mind, he made a private signal, when, instead of replying, the ships hauled down the Allied colours, hoisted French ones, and put on all sail to shorten the distance between them and the astonished transports. By good fortune a fresh breeze had sprung up from the south-west, favoured by which, Ley and most of his ships managed to escape; but one of them, with four companies of Barrymore's and Donegal's, numbering 280 men, was captured and taken to Cadiz. The "Greenwich," "Roebuck" and three transports ran back to Lisbon; but, in the course of the following day the "Antelope," with nine others, reached Gibraltar Bay; whilst two days afterwards

(made up from the 1st and 2nd Regiments) under Colonel Richard Russell; and Donegal's foot (recently returned from the West Indies).

[1] *Brigadier-General John Shrimpton* was a major in the 1st (or Queen's Own) Foot Guards. He had served in Flanders, had been wounded at Landen, and was now M.P. for Whitchurch. He and Lord Donegal had arrived at Lisbon with the reinforcements.

the "Newcastle" arrived with the remaining seven. Among these ships were four victuallers; and the troops who landed numbered 1,970 men.

Since the death of Nugent and Fox, Borr of the Marines had commanded the English troops, and had zealously seconded the Prince. The latter now appointed Shrimpton to be governor of the fortress, and gave him (as well as Donegal) the commission of Major-General in King Charles's service. On the 24th the "Greenwich," with a company of Donegal's, arrived from Lisbon; and next day Leake, who had been windbound at the east of the Straits, returned from his cruise. But it having been agreed at a council of land and sea officers that he should proceed to Lisbon to revictual and refit, he sailed for that port on January the 3rd, 1705, and arrived on the 20th.

On December the 23rd the Prince, being so seasonably reinforced, made a sortie on the enemy's advanced trenches. He levelled the parapets, burnt the gabions and fascines, and destroyed the labour of eight days, the whole operation being effected with but little loss to the garrison. On the night of January the 1st he made a second powerful sally, in which he again inflicted considerable damage on the Bourbon works.

After these sorties the fire of the enemy was less severe, and soon, owing to scarcity of ammunition, Eligazarai ceased action altogether from his largest breaching battery. The rains had also greatly impeded his works; whilst by casualties, sickness and desertion, the effective force of the Bourbon army (notwithstanding that they had been reinforced by 2,000 men) had dwindled to 4,700, of whom 700 were horse, and 1,600 French marines. However in December Marshal De Tessé, who had relieved Berwick as commander-in-chief, had sent off Lieutenant-General De Thouy with

another reinforcement numbering 4,000 men (mostly French).

Towards the end of January these troops reached the Bourbon camp; and Villadarias then determined to deliver an assault. His engineer had pushed forward along the side of the hill to within ten paces of the Round tower, and had resumed his battering. That work was completely shattered, the rent in it being so wide that thirty men could mount it abreast; and the breach in the wall on the right was also practicable. On February the 2nd a reconnaissance was made on the tower by a party of fifty grenadiers, who were driven off with a loss of two officers and several men; and on the 7th the assault was delivered.

The storming party was formed of 600 French grenadiers, and the supports, of 1,000 Spaniards, the whole being commanded by Thouy. On the previous night 300 of the grenadiers, mounting the rocky hill in front of the wall breach, had concealed themselves in the clefts and hollows; and at daybreak, as soon as the night guard, consisting of three officers and sixty men, had left that post, and its day garrison of one subaltern and thirty men was its only guard, the grenadiers clambered to the extreme right of the wall, threw grenades into the post below them, and forced the subaltern and his party to retreat. Simultaneously the bulk of the assaulters, 1,300 in number, rushed at the great breach in the tower, where Borr, with 240 men, was in command. He made a gallant resistance; but the grenadiers who had captured the lesser breach, which was at a higher elevation, threw grenades and large pieces of rock into the tower; and a portion of them advanced to occupy the King's lines in his rear. He therefore found himself obliged to retreat; and passing along the lines, his men climbed over its parapet

at the inner end, and dropped into the Landport curtain a few feet below.

The French now pressed on to gain possession of the gate leading into the fortress, but were delayed thereat by a brave stand made by Captain Fisher with only seventeen of Seymour's marines. The reserves, consisting of 500 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Moncal of Barrymore's (a Huguenot exile), then came up. That officer charged the enemy with such spirit that they were driven back along the lines, and out of the tower, which had been an hour in their possession. In this repulse Moncal was aided by Lieutenant-Colonel Rivett of the 2nd Guards, who with twenty grenadiers entered the lines from the Landport curtain below. The enemy lost 305 officers and men, of whom 70 were killed, 200 wounded and 35 captured. The casualties of the garrison were 147, including 27 killed and 120 wounded; whilst (during the charge) Fisher was taken prisoner. At noon, having beat a parley, Villadarias obtained leave to carry away his dead.

Before this assault took place the Spanish ministers had consented to a proposal made by Tessé that he should proceed to the siege, and should take command of the Bourbon army. Accordingly he arrived on the 10th and superseded Villadarias; but at the special request of King Philip the loyal Spanish general remained at the camp, and (though of equal rank) served under the French marshal.[1]

[1] *Mans-Jean Baptiste Réné de Froullai, Comte De Tessé*, was born in 1651 and had seen much service. In 1670 he was wounded at the attack of Epinal; and during the four years following he served at the sieges of Orsoi, Rhinberg, Doesburg, Unna, Kamen, Altenau and Ham, and at the action of St. Jean de Pages. In 1677 and 1678 he fought at Morville, Freistroff, Friburg, Rhinfeld (where he was wounded) and Kintzig. In 1684, as *maître-de-camp général* of

At this time King Louis had become lukewarm in his original zeal to recover the fortress; for besides the great losses sustained by the besiegers, the Bourbon operations on the frontiers of Portugal had been paralyzed. But Philip and the Spanish ministers still had the capture of the place greatly at heart, and they directed Pointis to leave Cadiz to succour and assist Tessé.

Within the fortress the engineer Bennet had begun to construct a nine-gun battery immediately behind the breach in the Landport curtain (which at this time was wide enough for 100 men to enter abreast).[1] On the day after the assault the Prince, with the brave Moncal and several others, was standing on this new battery, when a round shot whizzed through their midst, killing a Spanish officer, shattering Moncal's leg, and wounding five more.

dragoons, he took part in the siege of Luxemburg; and in 1691, in those of Villa Franca, Montalban and Veillane (where he was wounded). In 1693, as a lieutenant-general, he defended Pignerol and St. Brigite against the Duke of Savoy; and three years later he was present at the sieges of Valenza and Ath. In 1701 he made a resolute defence of Mantua for six months, when he was relieved by Vendôme. At the battle of Luzzara he commanded the left wing of the French army and was again wounded. He afterwards attacked and captured Borgo Forte. In 1703 he became a marshal of France. He was of a gay, easy, pleasant disposition, and was much in favour with King Louis.

[1] *Captain Joseph Bennet* was highly esteemed by Darmstadt. In a letter to Galway, dated April 5, 1705, the Prince wrote :— "C'est à lui que l'on doit que Sir Jean Leake n'aye pas esté confondu des importunités de vos officiers qui voulurent le persuader de m'obliger à rendre la Place la première fois qu'il vint ici, à cause qu'ils [ne] crurent pas la Place tenable. Monsieur Lawrence estoit le chef qui forma le papier séditieux, et c'est lui Mr. Bennet tout seul qui opposa à cela . . . ainsi que ce dit Bennet mérite bien que S. M. Britannique considère ses bons services." At the conclusion of the siege Bennet was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and received from the Queen a present of £200.

On the 16th and 18th the "Leopard," "Tiger" and "Roebuck," escorting several transports carrying (besides warlike stores) detachments of the Guards, Donegal's and Dutch foot, numbering 700 men, arrived from Lisbon. These were the remainder of the troops that had been brought back to Lisbon after the affair off Cape Spartel. On board the ships were the engineer captains Talbot Edwardes, Lewis Petit and Massey.[1]

At this time Tessé began to bombard the town, the greater part of which he soon laid in ruins;[2] and on the 26th Pointis, with a squadron of fourteen sail, arrived in the bay, bringing with him a train of fresh siege guns and mortars and a supply of ammunition.

On March the 2nd Bennet having completed the nine-gun battery behind the breach, the Prince, attended by his principal officers, duly inaugurated the occasion. Having ordered fifty gallons of punch to be brewed for the working parties and gunners, he drank the Queen's health and named the work the Queen's battery. The guns thundered a Royal salute, and the troops

[1] *Captain Talbot Edwardes* was the fourth engineer of the kingdom. He had been sent from England to take the post of chief engineer at the Rock, and to command the train which shortly afterwards was despatched to the fortress. Captain Lewis Petit, since his capture at Portalegre, had been exchanged.

[2] Writing to the Board of Ordnance on the 20th, Talbot Edwardes thus expressed himself:—"Day and night they throw bombs and shot into the town, which has laid great part of it in rubbish. The houses near the enemy look like a place where some great fire has been, but the Fortification towards the land is most dreadfully torn, which indeed cannot be wondered at, since it is now above seventeen weeks the siege began, and in that time it is computed there has been 8,000 bombs thrown in, and above 70,000 shot, which not long since had dismounted all the cannon. But by the unwearied pains of the good Prince here (who is continually upon the Fortifications and often will work himself) some are mounted again and the rest are in hand."

gave three cheers. With the same ceremony he then drank the health of King Charles. On the night of the 8th he made a third sortie on the besiegers, in which they lost sixty-five men. But it was not only by this sally that the Bourbon approaches were delayed; for after the 2nd rain began to fall heavily. For thirty days, accompanied by strong south-west winds, it scarcely ever ceased, and the chief duty that devolved on the attackers was the formation of drains to keep their trenches clear of water.

During this time Leake, who had been apprised by the Prince of the arrival of Pointis, prepared to sail again for the relief of the fortress. With the ships Galway sent Mountjoy's regiment and Brunese's Dutch, the whole numbering 1,200 men. Two Portuguese regiments were also ordered to Lagos, to embark for the Rock when called for. On the 10th Sir Thomas Dilkes joined Leake from England with five third-rates; and on the 17th, the wind being fair, the admiral set sail. His fleet was formed of twenty-three English ships, four Dutch, and eight Portuguese; for the last-named nation had resolved to take a share in the naval operations.

Early in the morning of the 21st he was on the point of entering Gibraltar Bay, when he discovered Pointis with five sail stealing away past Europa to the eastward, whereupon he immediately gave chase. Most of the French ships had already been driven by the bad weather from their anchorage in the bay, and had taken shelter in Malaga roads. Leake hoped to overtake and capture the whole squadron; but on hearing of his approach, the vessels at Malaga cut their cables and fled to Toulon. The five ships he now pursued were the "Magnanime," 74, flagship of Pointis; the "Lisvaisseau," 86; the "Ardent," 66; the "Arrogant," 60; and the "Marquis," 56. Off Marbella a sharp con-

flict ensued between these ships and the foremost of the Allied fleet. The "Arrogant" struck to the "Revenge" and "Newcastle," and later on the "Ardent" and "Marquis" to two Dutch ships. The "Magnanime" and "Lisvaisseau" ran ashore, and were set on fire by their crews. During the action the "Hampton Court" (Leake's flagship), the "Revenge" (Dilkes's), and the "Warspite," which were among the ships principally engaged, suffered much injury in their masts and rigging. Having looked into Malaga roads, the admiral returned to the Straits; but owing to contrary winds it was not till April the 11th that he anchored in Gibraltar Bay. Perceiving then that the siege was nearly at an end, he left on the 16th for Lisbon.

At the beginning of April, seeing clearly that the idea of recovering Gibraltar was hopeless, Tessé gradually withdrew the guns from his batteries, and converted the siege into a blockade, maintaining meanwhile a heavy fire from his mortars, to which the Prince replied. With the object of capturing the cannon which Tessé was removing, it was the wish of Darmstadt to make a great final sortie; but he was unexpectedly opposed by Shrimpton, who urged that no more reinforcements were to be expected from Lisbon, and that if the Allies should lose many men they could not be replaced. On these remarkable grounds Shrimpton managed to influence the majority of votes at a council of war, sixteen being given against the attempt and only ten for it; hence, much to his disappointment, the Prince was obliged to relinquish the design.[1]

[1] On April 5th the Prince wrote to Galway:—"Je ne sçauray vous cacher le peu d'envie que tous ces officiers Anglais en général temoignent de vouloir entreprendre quelque chose d'estat; les enemies amènent [*scil.* emmènent] leur canon, et font tout si tranquillement que j'en suis scandalizé, n'ayant jamais trouvé des pareilles désordres et si peu de volonté dans les

On the 20th the enemy set fire to their gabions and fascines, and began to march into the interior. Including their wounded and sick, their total force consisted of 2,000 French and 4,000 Spanish. By the 23rd Tessé had cleverly withdrawn his guns, siege stores, baggage and supplies; on that day he himself set out for Madrid; and on the 28th the last of the Bourbon troops left the isthmus.

On May the 4th (being old-style St. George's day) the garrison was reviewed by the Prince. Afterwards, lining the works, the troops fired a *feu-de-joie*, which was accompanied by salvoes from the guns. In the evening there were fireworks and general festivities; and thus triumphantly, after a defence extending over eight months, the Rock fortress was secured in the possession of King Charles.

The blow to the Bourbons caused by this long resistance was immense. In October Villadarias had commanded 12,000 men; by the end of December he had been joined by 2,000 more; whilst in February Thouy had brought him a further reinforcement of 4,000; thus 18,000 men had been engaged in the siege. But in April it is clearly recorded that only 6,000 left the Bourbon camp; hence the military loss to the two

troupes Anglaises, tous les jours ivres, négligeantes sur leurs postes, et comme je souhaite l'exactitude, cela me rend odieux auprès d'eux." To this letter, Galway replied:—"Notre nation a ses défauts comme la plupart des autres, et l'abondance nous a fait tomber dans l'excès du luxe et même de la débauche. . . . Au nom de Dieu, mon Prince, fermez les yeux sur leurs défauts, augmentez leurs bonnes qualités, témoignez leur de l'amitié et du soin, et ne leur donnez point de jalousie; je suis persuadé que vous faites déjà tout ce que je vous prie de faire. . . . Votre Altesse peut compter sur ces troupes, elles ont sans doute une très grande estime pour V. A., elles ont esté témoins de la capacité et fermeté, elles y joindront l'amitié quand vous voudrez; je sais par ma propre expérience qu'on ne vous la peut refuser quand vous voulez."

Crowns cannot be reckoned at less than 12,000 men. In addition, as the result of the naval operations, they lost five line of battle ships, four frigates and several smaller vessels, together with about 1,700 seamen. On the side of the Allies the casualties during the siege did not exceed 1,500 men, in addition to whom must be reckoned the bomb-vessel "Terror," the transport containing 280 drafts, and the few seamen killed or wounded off Marbella.[1] By this splendid defence great encouragement was given to the Austrian cause throughout Europe. In Portugal the Allied arms profited considerably by the diversion it afforded; and in England an interest in the maintenance of the place (in spite of its small intrinsic value) was strongly evoked.[2]

[1] Of the conduct of the Prince throughout this great siege, it is recorded by a Bourbon historian that "he spent all his days in the works, and most part of his nights in the covered way;" and in the annals of Queen Anne, it is stated that he was "the soul of the garrison," and "scarce ever allowed himself two hours of continual rest, either by day or night . . . discharging at once the different parts of general, soldier, engineer, gunner, carpenter, and pioneer, which was a mighty encouragement to the officers to do their respective duties."

[2] Treasury Papers, CII. 14; CXXXIII. 29. State Papers, Mil. Ent. [1704], VI. 319; Ireland, King's letters [1714-16], No. 5; Dom. Anne [1702-6], III. 25; IX. 21; XI. 11, 35. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXI. 132; XXII. 133; XXIV. 135. Add. Coll., Ordnance, 5795, ff. 261-266: Leake, 5437, ff. 69-88, 110-115, 229-233; 5440, ff. 27-59, 65-119, 217-235; 5441, ff. 2, 18-36: Stepney, 7058, f. 359: Godolphin, 28056, f. 254, 258, 261, 268: Strafford, 22264, f. 21: Ruvigny, 9718, f. 181: Ireland Establishments [1717], 18595, f. 17. Hist. MSS. Comm. IX. 467. Calendars of Treas. Pap., XCIII. 129; XCIV. 13. Cartwright's Wentworth Papers, 40. Angliæ Notitiæ [1707]. Lond Gaz., Dec. 4-7, 21-25, 1704; May 21-24, 1705. Boyer, III. 136-147; IV. 1-5, 128-129; IX. App. 98-99. St. Pierre, 23. Journal of the Siege of Gibraltar, 15-19. Küntzel, 310-311, 387-388, 394, 433-434, 453, 465-8, 477, 484-9, 494-9, 510-517, 530-4, 538-9, 544-6, 553-6, 562-5. Stephen Leake, 102-110, 113-117, 119-122, 126-131, 135-149. Impartial Hist. App. 3. Murray, I. 610. Burnet, 757-8. Luttrell, V. 502, 515. Royal Engineers' Journal, Oct., 1878. Cannon, 13th Regt., 20-1.

Lett. Hist. XXVI. 458-9, 593-4; XXVII. 117-18, 234, 336, 340-1. Larrey, III. 248. Limiers, VIII. 42. Quincy, IV. 423, 439, 445, 452-4, 635-7. Targe, III. 384, 391. Hippeau, II. 79. Campbell, III. 240-3, 248-9. Oldmixon's history of England [1735], 341. Tindal, XVI. 153. Drinkwater's siege [1784]. Ayala, 148-155. Tessé, II. 139, 152, 167-8, 186-191; III. 243. Millot, II. 332, 344-5, 349. Hamilton, I. 377; II. 2.

CHAPTER XI.

The Siege of Badajoz.

During the winter Galway and Methuen, who always acted in harmony, had made great preparations for a new frontier campaign in the spring. The aged Las Galveas was still generalissimo in Alemtejo, but the Spanish general Corsana was given a commission by virtue of which he commanded the Portuguese troops; whilst (as before) the English and Dutch contingents were under Galway and Fagel respectively. The English mustered only 200 horse, 2,500 foot and a train of five 5-pounders. Under Galway were Wyndham, Brudenell and Brigadier-General Henry Conyngham (who had arrived in November); Carles was the English chief engineer, as well as the quartermaster-general for the whole army; and Borgard commanded the train.[1] The Dutch numbered 2,300 men, and the Portuguese 12,000; with the latter there was a train of 20 heavy guns, 7 mortars, 24 field-pieces and 80 cohorns; and the whole Allied force amounted to 17,000 men. This

[1] The English consisted of Harvey's Horse (a detachment); Portmore's, Stewart's (which since its capture at Castel Vide had been exchanged), Blood's, Duncanson's and Brudenell's Foot, and the train; but for want of horses the Royal and Conyngham's Dragoons remained at St. Ubes and Lisbon.

year neither of the Kings accompanied the army; for Pedro was ill, and Charles remained at Lisbon, where he intended to join the new coast expedition, which was to take place when Prince George was free from the duty of defending Gibraltar.

It was resolved to open the campaign by the invasion of Estremadura, where at present there was no Bourbon field army, the foot having been absorbed in the siege of Gibraltar. Galway wished to march straight for Badajoz, the principal fortress of the province; but he was outvoted by the Portuguese, who decided to commence with the siege of Valenza. On April 24, 1705, the Allies began their march towards that town, and on May the 2nd encamped before it. Las Galveas being too old for active work, it was arranged that Corsana, Galway and Fagel should exercise the actual chief command of the army in turn, for a week at a time. Thus, during the attack of Valenza, it fell to the lot of Fagel to direct the operations.

He at once invested the place, and having captured an outlying eminence held by the enemy, occupied it with two companies of foot. On the 3rd siege-works were commenced, and three days afterwards the guns began to batter the face of one of the bastions. The governor was the Marquis de Villa-Fuente, and his garrison was 700 Spaniards. On the 8th the breach (being practicable) was assaulted by 900 grenadiers, formed equally of English, Dutch and Portuguese, supported by Duncanson's English, Noyel's Dutch, and two Portuguese regiments. The grenadiers were firmly met, and were on the point of being repulsed, when Duncanson's men, headed by their colonel, with colours flying, mounted the breach and drove the enemy into the castle, where they soon hung out a white flag and surrendered as prisoners of war. The town was then pillaged by

the Portuguese troops. In the assault the gallant Duncanson was mortally wounded; and during the siege Borgard had his left arm shattered, whilst Captain Fletcher of Brudenell's, an assistant engineer, was killed in the trenches.[1]

It was now resolved to besiege Albuquerque, another Spanish frontier fortress not far distant. The town was strongly situated on a hill (only accessible on one side) surmounted by a castle; and the garrison consisted of 800 Spaniards. Fagel's week of command having expired, the control of the siege devolved on Galway. On the 16th he commenced the attack, and the suburbs were bravely stormed under a heavy fire by two Portuguese regiments. But the masonry of the walls was so good that the guns made very little impression; hence mining was commenced from two galleries, one driven by the Portuguese, and the other by the English under Lieutenant-Colonel Bennet (from Gibraltar), who was wounded. On the 20th a breach was opened by Richards (who commanded the Portuguese artillery) in the wall of a church close to the town ramparts; and a lodgment was made in the building. Not expecting an attack on that side, the Spaniards were taken by surprise, and agreed to surrender with the honours of war.

Early in May Tessé arrived in the province from Gibraltar, and during the month was joined by the 6,000 troops who had retreated from that fortress. Having been reinforced by 2,200 horse, he detached Thouy with most of the foot to watch Das Minas in Beira, and with the rest of his army he joined Bay, who with 1,700 horse was posted near Badajoz. Into that

[1] For the recovery of his health Borgard was sent home, and the command of the train was given to Lieutenant-Colonel Mauclere, a Queen's engineer and a Huguenot.

place the French marshal threw his remaining foot, consisting of three French battalions and a detachment of grenadiers.

In the meantime Das Minas had taken the field in Beira, and on the 21st had arrived before Salvatierra, which was defended by 360 Spaniards, who at once surrendered at discretion. He then advanced against Sarca, which, having been abandoned by its French garrison, he plundered and burnt. But on the approach of Thouy from Ciudad Rodrigo, he retired to his former shelter at Penamacor.

Having resolved to besiege Badajoz, the Allies decamped from Albuquerque; and in order to send their present siege train to Campo-Mayor, whilst they obtained the larger one necessary for attacking Badajoz from the nearer fortress of Elvas, they marched to the right of the Chevora. Tessé was on the left bank, covering Badajoz, but he retired as the Allies advanced. On June the 5th they encamped within four miles of the place with their right to the Guadiana, and the Caya in their rear. Tessé then crossed to the left of the Guadiana, and threatened their flank in case they should commence the siege. Galway and Fagel wished to proceed at once; but the Portuguese dissented, and on the 13th orders arrived from Lisbon for the army to separate into summer quarters. Next day they crossed the Caya and retreated into Portugal, where the English were cantoned along the Andalusian frontier, the Dutch on the Tagus, and the Portuguese in Alemtejo.

It was September before the summer heats were over, and the Allies were again ready for the field; but in the interval important events had occurred in connexion with the coast expedition under Prince George, which (with the Court and ministers) King Charles had

accompanied. For the autumn campaign against Badajoz, Das Minas was appointed generalissimo; but Corsana, Galway and Fagel still commanded weekly in their turn. On the 30th the army concentrated on the Caya, and nearly on the same ground whence they had broken up in June. It was decided to prosecute the siege, but not unanimously, for Fagel now opposed the idea.

At this time Tessé was encamped with 4,000 horse at Talavera on the Guadiana, twelve miles east of Badajoz, expecting soon to be reinforced. The town is on the left of that river, which bounds its northern side. On the right bank it was defended by detached works, of which San Cristoval was the principal. The place was well fortified and fairly victualled; but the garrison under the Count De Puebla was much under its proper strength and only numbered 2,000 men, 1,500 being French, and 500 Spanish. The force under Das Minas was 21,000, of whom 2,500 were English, 2,100 Dutch, and 16,400 Portuguese. On October the 2nd they invested the fortress proper, Galway being in command. Trenches were opened opposite the Merida gate, and on the 6th the heavy siege train arrived from Elvas. Next day several bridges having been thrown across the Guadiana, half the army were posted on the right bank to prevent any attempt that might be made by Tessé, on that side, to throw in troops. On the four following days batteries were constructed and approaches were vigorously pushed forward.

On the 11th the guns opened fire; but the enemy replied with spirit, and it was not long before a Spanish shell blew up a small powder magazine in one of the siege batteries, whereby its fire was silenced and several gunners were killed. On being informed of the

event Galway personally entered the battery in order to restore confidence and to superintend its re-establishment. Whilst giving directions, and holding out his right hand, it was shattered by a round shot from the fortress. Nevertheless he calmly remained on the scene nearly two hours longer, till the battery was again in working order, and then left to have his wound dressed. It was found necessary to amputate the arm a little below the elbow, and he was temporarily disabled from further command.

Fagel had gone to Elvas, designing to return to Holland, but Das Minas now sent for him to assume the direction. Next day he arrived in the camp, when (notwithstanding his wound) Galway rode with him round the various posts, and explained the dispositions he had made for frustrating any attack on the part of Tessé. On the 14th a breach sixty yards wide had been made in the escarp wall of the fortress, and it was intended that on the following day the assault should be delivered.

Having received his reinforcements, numbering 7,000 foot, Tessé resolved to attempt the relief of the hard-pressed garrison. On the night of the 13th, with 4,000 horse, 5,000 foot and some field-pieces, he crossed to the right bank; and in order to approach the investing army from a north-westerly direction, where he would be least expected, he took a very circuitous course. In the morning, after a long and difficult march, ably conducted, he suddenly appeared before the Allied outposts. With the guns at his disposal the officer in command at first made some resistance; but shortly afterwards, apprehensive of being overwhelmed, he retreated across the Guadiana. Tessé then threw 1,000 foot into Badajoz, and took up a threatening position near the river.

At this crisis Fagel displayed great irresolution. Directing a fire of artillery to be maintained against the French, he summoned a council of war, and after much delay led the Allies over the river to attack them. Thereupon Tessé retired across the Chevora; but during the operation Wyndham, at the head of Harvey's horse, briskly charged his rearguard and drove many of them into the stream. Fagel advanced to the opposite side and commenced an artillery duel, which lasted for two hours, but produced no result, for Tessé maintained his ground. The Dutch general then returned to his camp and advised Das Minas to abandon the siege. The same day the guns were withdrawn from the batteries, though an appearance of pushing the approaches was still kept up. This continued throughout the two following days; but on the night of the 16th, having sent off the siege train and baggage, Das Minas and Fagel retreated with the whole army towards the frontier.

Next morning Tessé started in pursuit and followed for some distance; but the rearguard of the Allies was efficiently commanded by Montandre; and on the 20th, without loss, they reached Elvas. With them, feverish from his wound and indignation at Fagel's conduct, they carried the English general, owing to whose disablement this disaster had occurred. Shortly afterwards both armies dispersed into winter quarters, whilst Fagel embarked for Holland, and fortunately did not return. But Galway's condition became serious; his life was in danger; and in order that his wound might be better attended to, he requested Tessé to grant him a pass to proceed to Olivença. The French marshal at once complied, and also generously sent his best

surgeons to visit the English commander, who in November began to recover.[1]

[1] Public Records, Ordnance Minutes [1705], LXXVII. 49, 163-5, 376. State Papers, Dom. Anne [1702-6], X. 9, 23. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXI. 132. Add. Coll., Godolphin, 28056, f. 218, 222, 238, 242, 250, 254, 261, 273, 357, 359, 361: Strafford, 31134, f. 103. Calendars [1702-7], 456. Boyer, IV. 6, 129-136, 163-171; IX. App. 99-100. St. Pierre, 23-25, 82. Murray, I. 612. Burnet, 775-7. Cunningham, I. 434-5, 439. Cannon, 9th Regt. 16; 10th Regt. 10. Duncan, I. 93. Tindal, XVI. 153, 155. Coxe, I. 330. Tessé, II. 191-5, 200-5. Millot, II. 349, 363.

THIRD PERIOD. BARCELONA. 1705-1706.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EXPEDITION TO CATALONIA.

IN 1705 the English ministers resolved to equip another expedition against the coast of Spain, but on a larger scale than that which had resulted in the capture of Gibraltar, and with the object of affording a more permanent diversion in aid of the Allied efforts in Portugal. Their chief hope of success existed in the known readiness of the Catalans to embrace the Austrian cause. On this subject the ministers consulted Mr. Mitford Crowe, a trusted agent, who from past dealings with the Catalans had obtained considerable insight into their character; and he strongly urged the advisability of assisting them with troops and ships. After the conclusion of the siege of Gibraltar, Prince George had been in communication with the citizens of Barcelona, who had sent deputies to consult with him; and matters in Catalonia were now ripe for action.

Accordingly it was decided that, under his direction, primarily with the object of capturing Barcelona, and generally in order to develop a revolt throughout the principality, an Allied expedition should be sent to Catalonia. At the same time it was hoped that, later on, an opportunity might be found to attack

Cadiz. In April Mr. Crowe embarked for Genoa, from which neutral port he was instructed to treat with agents from the Catalans. Already there were 6,000 of these people in the mountains prepared to rise on the appearance of the fleet; and Mr. Crowe was instructed to inform their representatives that, after making himself master of Barcelona, the Prince would concert with their leaders as to his future policy.

Amongst the Allies in Portugal the wish and hope universally prevailed that this year the Prince's authority would be made more direct by the bestowal on him of an English commission to command the troops of Queen Anne. But the difficulty (which proved insuperable) lay in the fact of his being a Roman Catholic, and therefore disqualified by law from entering the Queen's service. Hence an English general had to be selected to act under his guidance, and the number of such officers having experience in war, and sufficient influence at Court to obtain assent to their appointment, was very limited. Public opinion had nominated the Earl of Portmore, who, besides possessing the above requisites, was a man of much tact and a friend of Prince George. Unfortunately, in matters of patronage, Marlborough was frequently influenced against his better judgment by the Duchess, to whom aspirants for office were wont to make application. Among these was the Earl of Peterborough, a needy peer of political influence, but not a soldier by profession, and in the result he was chosen for the post.[1]

[1] *Charles, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth*, was born in 1658, and was now forty-seven years of age. In 1678 (as a passenger) he made a voyage to the Mediterranean in a man-of-war, and in 1680 (as a volunteer) was for a few months at Tangier; but on neither occasion did he witness active service. Till 1685 he

In the appointment of an admiral to command the fleet no doubt could well exist. On the deposition of Rooke the Queen had promoted Sir Cloudesley Shovel to be Rear-admiral of the Kingdom, and to him was entrusted the naval direction of the expedition; yet he was fettered by the fact that, besides a commission as general of the army, Peterborough was also given one as joint admiral of the fleet. Under Sir Cloudesley were Sir Stafford Fairborne, Sir John Leake and Sir Thomas Dilkes; whilst over the Dutch were Van Allemond, Wassenaer, Vanderdussen and De Jonge.

As second to Peterborough (and working commander of the English troops) Major-General Henry Conyngham (then at Lisbon) was selected; under him were Brigadier-Generals the Earl of Donegal, Viscount Charlemont, Richard Gorges, James Stan-

was chiefly a courtier and a man of fashion; but from that date to 1705 he was an active politician. During this period he held for five years the sinecure colonelcy of a regiment of foot, which was one of the rewards he received for his political services; but in 1694 he was deprived of it. In 1691, from January to March (as a lord of the bedchamber), he was in Flanders, in attendance on the King, whilst the Allies were passive. In the following year, in June and July (on his own private account), he was again in the Netherlands; but he left before any fighting commenced on the part of the English. [In a memoir of Peterborough (published in 1853) Warburton states that "he and his Royal Horse Guards at the battle of Steinkirk fought stoutly in the British van." But he did not belong to this regiment, and at the time neither he nor it was in Flanders.] In 1697, although he solemnly pledged his word of honour that he had nothing to do with the matter, he was unanimously convicted by the House of Lords of endeavouring to suborn Sir John Fenwick to bring forward fictitious papers in order to implicate Shrewsbury, Orford and other leading Whigs (against whom Peterborough bore grudges) in the recently discovered conspiracy. Accordingly he was committed to the Tower, but through the clemency of the King was soon afterwards released. He was a thin, brisk-looking man, and was notorious for foul living, open atheism and boastful talking.

hope, and Viscount Shannon. The adjutant-general was Colonel Charles Wills, and the quartermaster-general, Colonel Hans Hamilton; the chief engineer was Lieutenant-Colonel (late Captain) Lewis Petit, and the director of the train, Colonel John Richards.[1] In command of the Dutch troops were Major-General Scratenbach and Brigadier-General St. Amand. The English fleet (including Leake's squadron at Lisbon) would consist of fifty-two sail of the line and nine bomb-vessels, whilst the Dutch would bring fourteen of the former and two of the latter. The land force comprised three English, three Irish and four Dutch regiments, and numbered 6,500 men.[2] The

[1] *Major-General Henry Conyngham* was a brother of Sir Albert Conyngham, an Irish baronet. In 1693 he raised and became the first colonel of Conyngham's Dragoons (afterwards the 8th Hussars), but no record of his previous services has been ascertained. *William, Viscount Charlemont*, had fought in Ireland under King William, by whom he was noticed and promoted; and in the expedition to Cadiz in 1702 he had commanded his regiment. *Brigadier-General Richard Gorges* for some years had been quartermaster-general in Ireland. *Brigadier-General James Stanhope* was the eldest son of the Honourable Alexander Stanhope (who had been ambassador at Madrid during the last war) and was born in 1673. In 1695 (as a volunteer) he served with distinction at the assault of Namur, where he was wounded. In 1702 at the Cadiz and Vigo operations (being then a lieutenant-colonel) he was on the staff of the Duke of Ormond. In 1704, as colonel in command of his regiment of foot, he came to Portugal with Schomberg; but he was invalided home without sharing in the campaign. He was M.P. for Cockermouth in the Whig interest. *Colonel Charles Wills* was born in 1670. He had fought at Landen and Namur. At Cadiz, in 1702, he had been lieutenant-colonel of Charlemont's foot. *Colonel Hans Hamilton* had recently served in Flanders under the Duke of Marlborough. *Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Petit* (whose services at Portalegre and Gibraltar have been already noticed) was a Huguenot refugee. *Colonel John Richards*, being a Roman Catholic, was not strictly speaking the actual commander of the train; but he received the pay, and the train officers were specially ordered to take his instructions.

[2] The English regiments were Rivers's (afterwards the 6th), Elliott's and John Caulfield's. The Irish ones were Hans Hamil-

siege train, together with most of the gunners and artificers, were to be supplied by the fleet.

On June the 4th the ships sailed from St. Helens and on the 20th reached Lisbon, where already Van Allemond and the Dutch had arrived. At this time the troops in Portugal were in summer quarters; and the Kings, ministers and principal generals were at Lisbon.[1] The Almirante and Corsana had strongly advised that the new expedition should first make an attempt on Cadiz; but Charles had demurred, and the Almirante was much vexed that his views were not accepted. For a long time he had acted somewhat strangely; he had severed his friendship with Prince George and some of the other ministers, and his influence with the King had greatly waned. He left the capital and proceeded to Estremos, where on the 29th he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, of which he died.

On the arrival of the expedition Darmstadt was summoned from Gibraltar to assist at a grand conference. He arrived on July the 11th, and next day the members assembled. There were present King Charles, the young Prince of Brazil (representing King Pedro who was ill), Prince George, Prince Lichtenstein, the Count De Corsana, the Earl of Galway, General Fagel, the Earl of Peterborough, Major-General Scratenbach, the chief Portuguese generals, the ministers and the ambassadors. It was moved by Darmstadt that the conference should formally concur in the proposed expedition to Catalonia. He said that their arrival was anxiously awaited by the Catalans; that Velasco, the

ton's (afterwards the 34th), Charlemont's and Gorges's. Rivers did not accompany the expedition.

[1] On May the 9th Charles had lost his father, the Emperor Leopold, who was succeeded by his eldest son Joseph.

viceroy, was detested; that the Count of Cifuentes (a brave Spaniard of much influence who had joined the Austrians) would raise the principality as well as the neighbouring kingdom of Arragon; and that most of the priests were devoted to their cause. By some of the members the Cadiz project was still preferred; but by the great majority, including the King, Lichtenstein, Galway and Peterborough, the views of the Prince were accepted, and it was agreed that the fleet should proceed to Barcelona.[1]

Although denuding his own force, Galway now strengthened the expedition with his two regiments of dragoons; and in exchange for the recruit corps of Elliott and John Caulfield, he authorized the fleet to take on board at Gibraltar the whole of the seasoned English battalions at that garrison. Thither Darmstadt returned to prepare them for embarkation; but owing to the necessary delays connected with the provision of transport for the dragoons and their horses, nearly six weeks elapsed before the troops could leave Lisbon.[2]

[1] On June the 1st the Prince had written a memorial to King Charles from Gibraltar in regard to the destination of the expedition, and after weighing the relative advantages of attacking Barcelona and Cadiz had proposed a third course, which in his opinion was the best, and that was to land on the coast of Valencia, and thence to "march directly to Madrid." But when it became known that the English ministers had selected Barcelona as the scene of the initial operations of the expedition, he threw aside his own predilections.

[2] State Papers, Spain [1700-13], 133, 134: Ireland, King's letters [1702-11], 3: Dom. Anne [1702-6], V. 75, 77, 82, 85-87: Mil. Ent. [1694-1702], IV. 43; [1704], VI. 369: Mil. Comm. [1667-1682], 386: Ordnance Minutes [1717], 228. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXII. 133; XXIV. 135; XXV. 136; XXXI. 142; Miscellanea, 384. Add. Coll., Ordnance, 5795, f. 273, 278: Godolphin, 28056, f. 260, 273, 279, 285, 293, 359: Leake, 5438, f. 48: Hatton Finch, 29588, f. 271, 279, 285, 292, 296, 298, 318: Strafford, 31134, f. 103: Ellis, 28941, f. 197. Ireland, 9765, f. 44, 108, 137, 138.

Boyer, IV. 137; IX. App. 99. St. Pierre, 25. Burnet, 484, 527, 548, 636, 774. Impartial Hist. App. 3. Stephen Leake, 155. Freind's account [1707], 12. Küntzel, 479, 539, 554, 558-9, 565-9, 572-3, 576, 613-14. Cunningham, I. 418, 431. Lett. Hist. XXVII. 672. De La Torre, IV. 213, 218. Targe, IV. 4-7, 73-80. Berwick, I. 263. Cannon, 5th Regt. 6, 108; 36th Regt. 2, 6. Hamilton, II. 84-5. Campbell, III. 246-251. Agnew's life of Galway, 112. Coxe, I. 109, 331. Tessé, II. 169. Luttrell, I. 47, 79, 95, 113, 142, 174, 505, 512, 513, 519, 520, 556; II. 1, 22, 24, 51, 137, 165, 197, 238, 308, 311, 420, 431, 460, 478, 518; III. 30, 234, 265, 298, 301, 431, 457, 547; IV. 20, 42, 166, 167, 169, 175, 203, 241, 351, 376, 399, 481, 613, 615; V. 129, 137, 165, 223, 225, 227, 261, 269, 534, 535. Teonge's diary, 29, 257, 261. Thompson [Hatton] II. 174, 178, 200. Macky, 11-15, 64. Packe's records, Roy. Horse Gds., 54-72. Collins, III. 330, 331, 335. Burke [Extinct]. Birch's remarks in Houbraken's Heads [1743], 77, 151. Jesse's memoirs, II. 180, 183. Matthew Smith's memoirs of Secret Service [1699]. Walpole's authors [1758], 161-165. Smollett, I. 314. Ranke, IV. 439, 565, 587; V. 129. Macaulay, II. 33, 194, 459, 488, 511; III. 121, 408, 538, 597, 606; IV. 754, 762-5. Warburton, I. 50-57, 61-64.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Delay before Barcelona.

On July the 24th the dragoons, together with a newly-raised Catalan regiment 500 strong (called the King's Guards), having embarked, Charles and his Court went on board the fleet.[1] Among the ministers was the Portuguese envoy, the Count D'Assumar; and Mr. Paul Methuen (the son of the English ambassador) had been temporarily invested with the same office on behalf of Queen Anne. The ships then put to sea, and having united with Sir Cloudesley and the bulk of the fleet (who had preceded them), arrived on August the 3rd at Gibraltar. Next day Charles landed in state, and was received by the inhabitants as their lawful sovereign. The recruits were disembarked; whilst the Guards, Barrymore's, Donegal's, Mountjoy's and the English Marines, eight battalions in all, numbering about 3,200 men, joined the Allied troops.[2] With the Prince, who now assumed the direction of the ex-

[1] It was at the express invitation of John Methuen (instructed by Godolphin) that King Charles accompanied this expedition.

[2] The Marines were commanded by Colonel Jacob Borr, who, for his good services at the defence, had been awarded the colonelcy of Fox's regiment. When the troops landed near Barcelona a duel took place between him and Lieutenant-Colonel Rodney of the Marines, and the latter was killed. Hence it is probable that Borr took no part in the subsequent siege operations.

pedition, came Basset-y-Ramos, Prince Henry, Donegal, Lewis Petit (the chief engineer), Rieutort and the Spanish detachment; whilst Shrimpton remained at Gibraltar as governor.

On the 5th the ships sailed, and six days afterwards anchored in Altea Bay to water. On the news of the arrival of the Prince spreading through the country the people flocked to the shore in great numbers; for his reputation in Catalonia had permeated Valencia, and many persons came on board the flagship to kiss the King's hand. During the stay of the fleet in this bay Peterborough (who thus early manifested a repugnance to active operations) endeavoured to induce Charles to alter the course of the expedition to Italy, but the King was inflexible. Moreover a frigate arrived from Genoa bringing advices from Mr. Crowe and Mr. Hill to the effect that the Duke of Savoy was in no need of succour, and that the Catalans were impatiently expecting the arrival of the ships at Barcelona.

Word was then brought to the Prince that the people of the adjacent fortress of Denia had declared for Charles. Accordingly he detached Major-General Basset-y-Ramos and a small body of Spanish troops in the "Orford," 70, Captain Loads, with four other sail of the line and two bomb-vessels, to receive the submission of the garrison. Denia was a walled town on the coast about twelve miles distant, containing a fair port for merchant vessels. Its castle mounted twenty guns, and was defended by 200 Spanish militia. On the arrival of Loads the Bourbon governor secretly left the place, and his soldiers surrendered. As a Valencian by birth Ramos already enjoyed considerable popularity among his countrymen, and he was gladly welcomed by the magistrates and citizens. Being after-

wards joined by 500 armed peasants from Altea, he made incursions into the neighbouring district; and it was not long before the flame of insurrection thus kindled covered the whole province.

On the 16th the ships resumed their course, and the Prince proceeded in the "Devonshire" (ahead of the fleet) to the port of Mataro (seventeen miles east of Barcelona) in order to gain intelligence of the state of affairs. At this place, after ascertaining that the Duke of Popoli with 400 Neapolitans had recently arrived from Italy to reinforce Velasco, he was met by a deputation from Vich (a town thirty miles inland), who came to offer their submission to King Charles. This was the first open sign of the revolt about to be manifested throughout Catalonia. Having arranged with Don Francisco Ponch, a leader of miquelets, that on the landing of the Allies he should meet them with a strong force of those auxiliaries, the Prince sailed to rejoin the fleet.

On the 22nd Sir Cloudesley arrived off the coast, and anchored three miles east of Barcelona. Next day, preceded by a party of 200 grenadiers, the foot began to disembark, Velasco making no attempt to oppose them. The country people assisted them by laying planks and carrying them on their backs, but were much disappointed at not seeing the Prince. In the afternoon, to their intense joy, he arrived from Mataro, and soon the whole population poured down to welcome him and the new King, whom, according to his promise, he had brought with him. To assist the expeditionary foot Sir Cloudesley sent ashore from his ships' complements a force of 1,150 marines; and next morning the dragoons landed. The troops then marched to the ground selected for their encampment near the village of St. Martin, a mile to the north-east of Barcelona, with

their left resting on the sea; and at the same time a post at a junction of roads to the west of the town, called the Covered Cross, was occupied by a party of foot and dragoons. On the 25th Ponch arrived with 1,200 miquelets, who were joined by a great number of armed countrymen; and to them the Prince assigned the important duty of investing the place.

Like nearly every other fortified town in Spain, the defences of Barcelona consisted principally of a stout wall, exposed at all ranges to the fire of artillery. This was flanked at intervals by a few bastions and many small towers, and was preceded by a ditch of moderate depth, with a covered way and a low glacis. On the south-western side, at a distance of 1,100 yards, was a hill 700 feet higher than the fortress, crowned by the small fort of Montjuic. Since the siege of 1697, at about 150 yards in front of the land side of this work, a line of bastioned advanced works had been commenced, but not finished. The fort was weak, and in no wise constituted a keep or citadel to the fortress, nor was its capture by any means essential to the possession of Barcelona.

On the 27th Peterborough, who had conceived a strong antipathy to the proposed attack, summoned a council of English and Dutch generals, and recorded the following resolutions.[1] The siege of Barcelona (he said) was impracticable; and if the Allies should attempt it, their retreat would perhaps be impossible. The garrison was large, and the ground over which trenches must pass was boggy. Although Colonel Petit had proposed merely to erect a large battery at

[1] To commanders who had resolved to fight, councils of war were of no use. They were generally resorted to by leaders whose chief qualities were prudence and a desire to avoid bloodshed.

500 yards from the walls, to make a breach, and then to storm it, yet this would have to be done under a heavy fire; besides, sufficient men could not be furnished to bring up fascines and ammunition, or to serve the battery. And even if this were effected by the seamen and country people, and a breach were actually made, "there is reason to believe," he said, "that before we can give an assault, the garrison would be considerably reinforced from Madrid . . . and also from the frontiers of France only thirty-five leagues [140 miles] distant." Moreover [he continued] "an expedition to Italy to assist the Duke of Savoy seems almost of equal importance." But if the expedition should remain in Spain, he proposed that, instead of attacking Barcelona, the army should march along the coast to Valencia, whence next spring an advance might be made to Madrid.

Afterwards, on the same day, in the presence of Charles, a joint conference of ministers, generals and admirals was held on board Sir Cloudesley's flagship. Peterborough having given his opinion according to the above resolutions, Prince George contended that the attempt on Barcelona ought certainly to be made. He stated that he had sure intelligence of the good disposition of the citizens and the disaffected state of part of the garrison; and he added that, if only the walls were breached, Velasco would be glad to capitulate with honour. Thereupon a debate ensued, which lasted some time. The Prince, Sir Cloudesley, the admirals and all the Germans, were for proceeding with the enterprise; whilst Peterborough and his generals (who deemed it expedient to follow his lead) were against it. Charles then wound up the discussion, and after replying to the objections made by Peterborough, said that even if the English general should

leave him, he himself would not desert the Catalans, who at the hazard of their lives had declared for him. Eventually Peterborough formally agreed that, before marching to Valencia (as he had proposed), the English and Dutch troops would join in making an attempt on Barcelona.

It was then arranged that the heavy guns for Petit's battery should be landed from the ships; and to confirm the agreement, Charles (by the advice of Darmstadt and Sir Cloudesley) determined to take up his quarters on shore. Accordingly next day, amidst the salutes of the fleet, he landed with great pomp, and after being received by the whole army drawn up in line under their generals, took up his residence at St. Martin. However Peterborough gave Richards confidential instructions merely to amuse the King by a show of activity, and in reality to delay the landing of the guns as much as possible, whilst he carefully abstained from ordering Petit to commence the actual erection of the battery.[1]

Let us now take a survey of the state of affairs in and before Barcelona. Within a weak fortress (which as compared with the great Flemish strongholds was hardly worthy of the name), governed by an inexperienced general, was a garrison of 3,200 foot and 800 horse, composed of Spaniards and Neapolitans, of whom the greater number were known to be disaffected to the Bourbon cause. Barely repressed by them was a mass

[1] Throughout the operations before Barcelona, Colonel John Richards (who could speak Spanish) was employed by Peterborough as his confidential agent. And the copious journals kept by Richards, whilst obviously taking as much as possible the part of the man who thus trusted him, yet clearly and unmistakably record the infamous tactics pursued by the English leader, whose motives appear to have been a mixture of cowardice, disaffection, and jealousy of the Prince.

of hardy Catalan citizens, capable of bearing arms, and ready to welcome the attackers with enthusiasm. On the other side, there was a willing army consisting of 6,600 English, 2,500 Dutch and 570 Catalans, or 9,670 men in all; a fleet of sixty-six sail of the line, led by an enterprising admiral, carrying 24,000 seamen all eager to fight, together with 3,500 heavy guns and the necessary siege materials; a force of miquelets numbering 3,000 men (and daily increasing) capable of holding efficiently the line of investment; and a much larger body of enthusiastic countrymen available for collecting provisions, landing guns, carrying stores, making gabions and fascines, and performing all siege work not actually done under fire. At the same time no Bourbon army capable of relieving the garrison was then in the field, or could subsequently be collected for the purpose in any place nearer than Rousillon in France. Moreover the expedition was under the direction of a young field-marshal of the Empire, highly experienced in all siege warfare (and especially in the defensive capabilities of Barcelona), whose sole wish was to carry out the design agreed upon by the English ministers and the Allied Courts, and to proceed with the attack. But unfortunately the English military commander, without whose troops nothing could reasonably be attempted, was distinctly averse from fighting.

On the 30th, notwithstanding the engagement he had entered into with the King on the 27th, Peterborough informed Sir Cloudesley that he and the generals were resolved not to attempt Barcelona, "but were mighty desirous the fleet should carry them to Italy" (where it was known they were not needed). Having summoned a naval council the admiral replied that by their instructions they were ordered first to

attempt Barcelona, then Cadiz, and failing these fortresses, other places on the coast of Spain; that only under particular circumstances were they permitted to proceed to Italy;[1] and that, having landed the troops, the admirals were unanimous that an attempt ought to be made on Barcelona. On September the 2nd Darmstadt wrote to the English general urging him to stay at least eighteen days before the place, and during that time to attempt the formation of a breach; but having called a second council, Peterborough deliberately refused to comply.[2]

The same evening a vessel arrived from England with letters, including a private one for Peterborough from Godolphin, in which, among other matters, he appears to have referred to the condition of the Duke of Savoy; but no fresh instructions were sent as to the conduct of the expedition. Nevertheless Peterborough pretended to construe this communication as a positive order to proceed to Italy, and on the 3rd informed

[1] On all these points the Queen's Instructions (addressed to Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley jointly) were clear and explicit.

[2] Through the medium of Richards, Peterborough wrote to the Prince deprecating the proposed attempt, and stating that he could not act against the dictates of a council of war without risking "his honour, his estate, his family, and perhaps his head." However he added that if the project of marching to Valencia were agreed to by the King and Prince, "*qu'il obligera la Conseille d'entrer dans ce projet!*" As regards attacking the fortress (he continued), the misfortune, if they were repulsed, "sera attribué à Votre Altesse et cru autant plus facilement que quelques personnes malicieux ont débité pendant le siège de Gibraltar que Votre Altesse n'estoit pas grand épargneur des soldats." Moreover, the soldiers knew that their generals were against making such an attempt, and if it should not succeed, they would probably mutiny and force him to re-embark! Doubtless it was painful to have to abandon the Catalans, but in all invasions similar things had happened. [It is to be noted that this remarkable letter is not included among Richards's own MSS.; but it was found among the Prince's papers, and is given in full by Küntzel.]

Charles accordingly. But the King was a little sceptical, and (at the instance of the Prince) instead of acquiescing, he firmly announced his intention of not leaving Catalonia till an attempt had been made on Barcelona. Peterborough then went on board the fleet and endeavoured to influence Sir Cloudesley, who on the 4th again convened the admirals. Before them Peterborough laid the Prince's proposition of the 2nd, the resolution of the generals declining to accept it, and the alleged fact of having received fresh instructions to proceed to Italy. Thereupon Sir Cloudesley and the admirals decided that, on the Spanish coast, the fleet would help the army in any attempt that might be made; but that if the generals concluded that nothing could be done in Spain, and that the troops would be useful in Italy, the ships would convey them to Nizza, provided they should re-embark within a week's time, after which the season would be too late for the vessels to proceed so far.

On the 5th Peterborough called a third council of generals and again rejected the proposal to make an attempt on the fortress; but next day, at a fourth council (for some inscrutable reason), he agreed to it. He then requested Sir Cloudesley to state how far the navy could assist the engineers with seamen. At the same time he wrote to the Prince, informing him of this, his second, agreement to make the attempt, and adding, in allusion to the aid expected from the admirals: "We do not in the least doubt of their agreeing to our proposition." In reply to his application Sir Cloudesley engaged to send ashore 4,100 seamen for work or duty in the trenches, 600 gunners and 50 carpenters, besides the 1,150 marines already landed. But to this resolution Peterborough himself as joint admiral (in spite of what he had written to the Prince) ap-

pended a separate opinion of his own, to the effect that he had not taken part in their proceedings because he knew beforehand he should disagree with them, and that he considered the fleet by no means able to spare the number of men sufficient to allow the siege to be undertaken!

On the 7th another despatch vessel arrived from Lisbon bringing for Peterborough, from some of the English ministers, further private letters, in which, apparently, some allusions were again made to Italian affairs. Accordingly next day he had another interview with Charles, and after referring to these letters, added all he could on his own part to induce him to proceed to Italy. But the King remained unchanged in his determination not to forsake the faithful Catalans. Peterborough then summoned a fifth council, whereat he decided to throw over the resolution made at the fourth, to re-embark the troops by the 11th (the last day fixed by Sir Cloudesley for their departure), and to proceed to the assistance of the Duke of Savoy.[1]

[1] From the evidence afforded by his private letters to the Duke of Savoy, written at this time, there is very little doubt that Peterborough had some kind of secret understanding with that sovereign. In a letter dated September 15th, after referring to a previous one he had sent the Duke informing him of the resolution he had taken in a council of war to proceed to Italy, he added, "Je ne le voulois point que ceux de la frégatte pourroit (*sic*) en avoir le bruit, *afin que les opérations concertées avec Votre Altesse puissent être secrettes.*" He then continues (in reference to the pretended fresh instructions from England): "Nous avions reçu des lettres ce jour d'Angleterre qui nous ordonnait (*sic*) de nouveau de passer en Italie, *et c'est que nous souhaitons fort*, tant pour le plaisir de vous servir que pour l'excuse de quitter l'affaire du monde la plus téméraire et la plus contraire au raison, d'attaquer une ville dont on ne peut entourer la cinquième partie" . . . "sachant très bien que nous fassions le plus grand service à la cause commune *en preferant vôtre secours à toute autre entreprise.*" Again, writing to the Duke on October 28th, he says: "Je songeois toujours à l'Italie, et croyant faire une diversion puissante, sachant que les troupes de

This decision having been communicated to the Prince, he wrote to Sir Cloudesley, earnestly requesting him not to abandon the King, and "to find out a way that His Majesty may not be the sacrifice of fools and knaves." He also suggested that the whole of the siege guns should be at once landed, and that every measure should be adopted to prevent the army from re-embarking. Sir Cloudesley (who throughout had cordially seconded the Prince) replied that he would heartily undertake any service in Spain, tending to keep the troops there, that the Prince might propose. However on the 9th Peterborough himself had a conference with Darmstadt and the King, when the English commander judged it expedient to give up finally the idea of going to Italy. But he compromised the matter by stipulating that if he remained in Spain, the attempt on Barcelona should be relinquished, and the march to Valencia alone carried out. On the 10th an agreement to this effect was drawn up and signed by Charles, Darmstadt and Peterborough. But although this arrangement was a complete reversal of the decision

Naples etaient à Barcelonne, *j'avois resolu d'attaquer ce royaume* [Naples], *et d'y mener le Roi en personne* si je pouvois l'engager dans le projet." And again, on November 8th: "Vous me pardonnerez, mon Illustre Prince, parceque je desire pousser les affaires ici *plus pour vôtre soulagement, que pour tout autre raison.*" Writing also to Mr. Hill at Turin about the same time, he said: "Your first letter [that received at Altea on the voyage to Barcelona] turned us from Italy, and *though my heart and soul has been set upon it ever since*, it could never be rètrieved." But in his long letter to Godolphin, dated October 23rd, on the subject of the capture of Barcelona, he makes no reference whatever to the fresh instructions he had told the King that he had received from Godolphin to proceed to Italy; and on the whole matter it is certain not only that the course he pursued throughout the delay before Barcelona was in direct disobedience to the actual instructions he had received from the Queen and her ministers, but that the idea of such conduct would never have entered the head of a real soldier, bred in habits of discipline.

of his fifth council, at a sixth which he now summoned, Peterborough made no allusion to the engagement he had entered into with the King; but after enumerating all the difficulties that would attend an attack on Barcelona, he reiterated his last resolution, and expressed a desire that the fleet should "carry them to Nizza or thereabouts for the support of the Duke of Savoy." Next day he, the Prince and Richards, went on board the flag-ship to confer with Sir Cloudesley as to the execution of the proposed march; and on the morning of the 12th, at a meeting where the Prince, Peterborough and Richards alone were present, it was orally agreed that on Tuesday the 15th the main body of the troops should start.

On the news spreading through the army and the fleet, the officers and men were much agitated, and evinced unmistakable signs of dissatisfaction. The seamen in particular were disgusted at the idea of leaving the place without fighting. But the poor Catalans, who would thus be left at the mercy of Velasco and the Bourbons, were in a state of consternation; and their leaders agreed not only to work in the trenches, but even to storm the place themselves, if only the Allies would first make a breach! Throughout the expedition it was well known that the councils held by Peterborough were mere forms, and that to him alone was due the ignominious policy which had been forced on the Prince. In the Court of King Charles feeling ran so high that the name of the English commander was coupled with expressions of a most insulting nature.[1]

[1] Stowe Coll., Richards, XXII. 133; XXV. 136; XXVIII. 139. Add. Coll., Godolphin, 28056, f. 268, 285, 287, 293, 295, 301, 307, 309, 323, 329, 335, 337, 353; 28057, f. 25: Leake, 5442, f. 102, 106, 108: Strafford, 31134, f. 103, 133: Tyrawley, 23637, f. 1. Boyer, IV. 137-145. St. Pierre, 27-35, 42, 46. Impartial Hist., 4, 27, 30, 34-40, 44 *et seq.* Remarks on Dr. Freind's account

(obviously by Colonel Rieutort) [1708], 19. Stephen Leake, 152, 155. Burnet, 774. Cunningham, I. 432. Luttrell, V. 576. Freind, 13-20, 22-28. Küntzel, 576, 614-18, 656, 659-65. Limiers, VIII. 51. Lett. Hist. XXVIII. 373, 490. Lamberty, III. 528-30. Quincy, IV. 642-8. Targe, III. 334. St. Simon, IV. 395. Berwick, I. 260. Millot, II. 361-2. Reboulet, III. 239-241. Campbell, III. 252. Tindal, XVI. 156.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Capture of Barcelona.

It was either on the 9th or the 10th that the Prince, seeing that nothing would induce Peterborough to make an attempt on the fortress itself—although both Petit and Richards had reported that the attack was perfectly feasible and had agreed in the details of its execution—had confidentially proposed that at least an endeavour should be made to surprise the small fort of Montjuic. By means of deserters Darmstadt had been tolerably well informed of the state of affairs within Barcelona. He knew that the garrison of the fort did not exceed 200 men, and that its outworks were in an unfinished state. If the operation should succeed, obviously it would be valueless unless followed by a subsequent attempt on the fortress itself, and this was the Prince's motive for broaching to Peterborough a project that otherwise would have been totally unnecessary.

But inasmuch as the gist of the proposed attack lay not in its conception, but in its execution, the Prince had offered personally to conduct the assault, if only Peterborough on his side would furnish English troops. Naturally an audacious idea of this kind was not one that would be readily acceptable to a man who by training was

not a soldier, and by instinct was against fighting of any kind whenever it could be avoided. But at this time the absurdity of the march to Valencia (which from the first the Prince had been aware of) had become apparent even to Peterborough; and the obloquy with which his name would be received in England if the expedition left Barcelona without making any active effort against it could be keenly and disagreeably foreseen. This Montjuic project was in fact the last resource; for during the three weeks' delay Velasco had actually thrown up on the eastern side of the fortress (under the very noses of the Allies) a strong earthen lunette, which would have greatly impeded the attack on that side. Hence, having quickly become aware of the feeling that was spreading throughout the camp, Peterborough suddenly resolved to accept the Prince's proposal.

Accordingly on the morning of Sunday the 13th he went to the Prince's quarters; and there, in the presence of Richards (no one else being in the room), he consented to the project; but he made the condition that the Prince should bind himself, if it were not successful, to concur in any propositions that he (Peterborough) might afterwards make for the future operations of the Allies. It was arranged that till the evening the design should be kept secret from the King and from the other generals; but it was confided by the Prince to Sir Cloudesley and to his flag-captain John Norris (who had conducted the negotiations between the admiral and the Prince). Thus without the pretence of the sanction of a council of war this important enterprise was decided on; and from this fact considerable light is thrown on the real nature and character of the six councils the English commander had assembled.

For the intended assault the Prince made careful preparations, and personally selected the officers.[1] It was given out that the force he was collecting was an advanced party who were to seize and occupy an important defile, through which on the following day the main body, on their march to Valencia, would have to pass. But as the real operation would have to be in the nature of a daring escalade—for Montjuic, small though it was, had high escarp walls—the party detailed by the Prince for this hazardous action consisted of 400 English and Irish grenadiers under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel William Southwell of Rivers's (the Prince's old regiment). They were to be supported by 600 musketeers—400 being English, 100 Dutch, and 100 Spanish—commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Allen of Gorges's, under whom was Lieutenant-Colonel Ambrose Edgeworth of the same regiment. Accompanying them was a small detachment of the train, carrying scaling ladders and spare ammunition. Lord Charlemont happened to be the brigadier-general on duty for the day; consequently on him devolved the command of the whole force. The reserves were 300 dragoons and 1,000 foot (with a few field-pieces and hand-mortars) under Brigadier-General Stanhope. These were to follow six hours after the main body, and were to take post at the Covered Cross, a mile distant from Montjuic, where part of their duty would be to watch the San Antonio gate of Barcelona, and to prevent any sortie

[1] In a petition to Queen Anne from Charlotte, widow of Captain-Lieutenant Peter Rycault of Donegal's regiment, it is stated that he having been promoted for good service during the stay of the army before Barcelona, "the Prince of Hesse out of a just esteem for his bravery distinguish'd [*i.e.* selected] him for the Attack of Mountjoice [*sic*] where he was unfortunately killed."—*Treas. Pap.* xcvii. 104.

therefrom on the rear of the assaulters. It was arranged that the Prince himself should conduct and direct the operations of Charlemont and the storming party, whilst Peterborough was to remain in rear to supervise the action of Stanhope and the reserves.

At 3 p.m. on the same day the assaulting troops began to parade outside the Prince's quarters, and about 6 p.m. commenced their march, being subsequently joined on the road by the Prince and Peterborough.[1] On the staff of Darmstadt were his brother Prince Henry, and his aide-de-camp, Colonel Rieutort. The troops marched first north-westward to the convent of Gracia, where they halted. Thence they proceeded to Serja, where they turned eastward towards Montjuic. The route taken was about twelve miles long and purposely very circuitous; the night was dark; the guides were occasionally at fault; and from Serja to the fort there was merely a track over rocky, broken ground. For these reasons the march was very fatiguing, and necessitated a much longer time than had been expected. It had been the Prince's wish to arrive before the outworks whilst it was dark, and at early dawn to have delivered the assault. But it was broad day when he actually reached the place, and even then only 800 of his men had come up; for the other 200 had lost their way, and eventually were taken prisoners by a party that sallied from the fortress.

However in their present condition the outworks

[1] After the troops had set out the Prince sent word to King Charles of their actual destination; and the same evening the King despatched a messenger to the Prince with a note stating that the news "that the attempt on Montjuic was to be carried out," which was what he had "longed for," had given him great comfort. After the first proposal of the idea to Peterborough, the Prince had evidently discussed the matter with the King, and both had hoped that the English commander would be induced to accede to it.

were merely a source of weakness to Montjuic; for except along a very short length, they consisted only of an irregular bank of earth and broken rock, with a shallow excavation in front. There was neither ditch nor formed parapet, and the rough mound afforded excellent cover to attackers from the fire of the fort in rear. The latter work was a square enclosure, with sides about forty yards long, and at each angle a small bastion. It had a good escarp, ditch, counter-scarp, covered way and glacis, but no guns nor bomb-proofs; and if shelled it was only tenable for a very limited time. The garrison was composed of Neapolitan troops under Lieutenant-General De Caracioli; for in a situation so isolated Velasco mistrusted his Spanish soldiers.

It being quite light when the Allies approached, the Neapolitans, most of whom were encamped in the open space between the bank and the fort, at once discovered them. Hence the idea of a surprise had to be abandoned, and an open assault by escalade to be substituted. Having marshalled his column, the Prince ordered Southwell and the grenadiers to advance. With great bravery they rushed forward, climbed the bank and charged the enemy, who after delivering one volley retreated into the fort, abandoning the whole line of outworks. Still gallantly leading his grenadiers, and under a heavy fire of musketry, Southwell pressed on to the ditch of the fort, followed by the Prince and Charlemont with the supports. The ladders were brought to the counter-scarp, lowered, and raised against the escarp wall, when unfortunately they were found to be too short. In the face of this crushing misfortune there was nothing left for the Prince and his brave party but to retire behind the outworks. But during the check Caracioli, having made a sally into the ditch, captured

some of Southwell's grenadiers, and by this time the Allied troops had lost a considerable number of officers and men. Meanwhile, having heard the firing, Velasco had sent up from Barcelona a reinforcement of 100 grenadiers, mounted on the cruppers of a similar number of dragoons. They advanced from the Montjuic gate of the fortress by a road up the steep hill-side, which, about half-way between the town and Montjuic, was protected by a small work named St. Bertran; and they reached the fort just after the repulse of the Prince.

Having taken post in rear of the bank, Darmstadt resolved to seize this half-way defence, and thereby to cut off Caracioli from further aid from the fortress. He collected a force of 400 men, and accompanied by Charlemont and Prince Henry personally led them towards St. Bertran. On the march they were necessarily exposed to a galling flank fire from Montjuic, and in a short time several of them were killed. The Prince was on foot, conspicuously heading his men, when he was struck in the lower part of the right thigh by a bullet which pierced an artery close to an old wound he had received (sixteen years before) at the siege of Bonn, and the blood flowed profusely. Utterly disregarding the danger of leaving this vital current unstanched, he continued to lead the troops for fifty paces farther, when, faint from loss of blood, he fell. Thereupon the men, who hitherto had been animated by his heroic example, lost heart; and Charlemont himself desisted from any further attempt on St. Bertran. In fact at this moment all other thoughts on the part of the troops appear to have been merged in the sad spectacle of the Prince's fall. He was carried to a little house near the convent of the Capuchins that lay to the west of Montjuic; but

immediately on arriving there, and before his terrible wound could be dressed, his fearless spirit took flight, and with it, the very life and soul of the Austrian cause in Spain.[1]

Charlemont and his party had retreated to the line of outworks, where gradually a panic set in among the soldiers. On the death of the Prince they had completely lost confidence, and rumours having been spread that the enemy were about to make a sortie from Barcelona to cut them off, a portion of them actually deserted their posts and straggled to the rear. To check this growing alarm and to retain the men in their places, Charlemont, Prince Henry, Southwell and the officers generally, used their utmost efforts; but at this juncture Caracioli, being seasonably reinforced by the grenadiers, practised a cunning stratagem. Pretending to lay down their arms, his men waved their hats and cried out "*Viva Carlos Tercera.*" On this, without orders, Colonel Allen, who was in the nearest post, advanced at the head of a detachment consisting of 200 English and 100 Dutch and Spanish. But no sooner were they close to the gates than they were received by a volley of musketry, followed by a sally which cut off their retreat; and the whole party being taken prisoners were sent into Barcelona under escort of the dragoons who had brought up the grenadiers.

By this misfortune the timorous feelings of the Allied

[1] It was at the early age of thirty-six that George of Hesse Darmstadt closed his earthly career; and it is probable that none more noble, or nearer ideal warlike perfection, can be found in the annals of modern history. In his character were combined a loyal devotion to the interests of those he served, a remarkable capacity for civil government, great skill and judgment as a military leader, and withal a reckless personal courage that has never been surpassed.

troops naturally became enhanced, and a large number of them began to retreat in the direction of the Covered Cross. But the foremost had not gone far when they were met by a number of Allied staff-officers riding towards them. At this diversion their alarms vanished ; shame supplanted fear ; and they quickly rejoined their ranks at the outworks, where Charlemont, most of the officers and some of the soldiers still maintained their position.

Among the mounted group who thus arrived was Peterborough. During the assault on the fort he had remained in rear (as pre-arranged) to form a link between the supports and the reserves. On the repulse of the stormers he had joined the Prince at the outworks, and after conferring with him in regard to bringing up the reserves had ridden back towards the Covered Cross, in advance of which Stanhope's dragoons were posted. Hearing from them that there were signs at the San Antonio gate of a probable sortie, he ordered them to rejoin Stanhope at the Cross, and himself remained near them. Shortly afterwards, brisk firing being heard from Montjuic, he advanced in that direction, and was met by Colonel Rieutort, who had come to bring him word of the Prince's fall. He then returned with his staff and Rieutort to the outworks; the deserters preceded them; and the posts were regained before Caracioli was aware that any of them had been abandoned. Soon afterwards Stanhope arrived with the reserves, and the Allied position was secured against any probable attempt that might be made by Caracioli or Velasco.

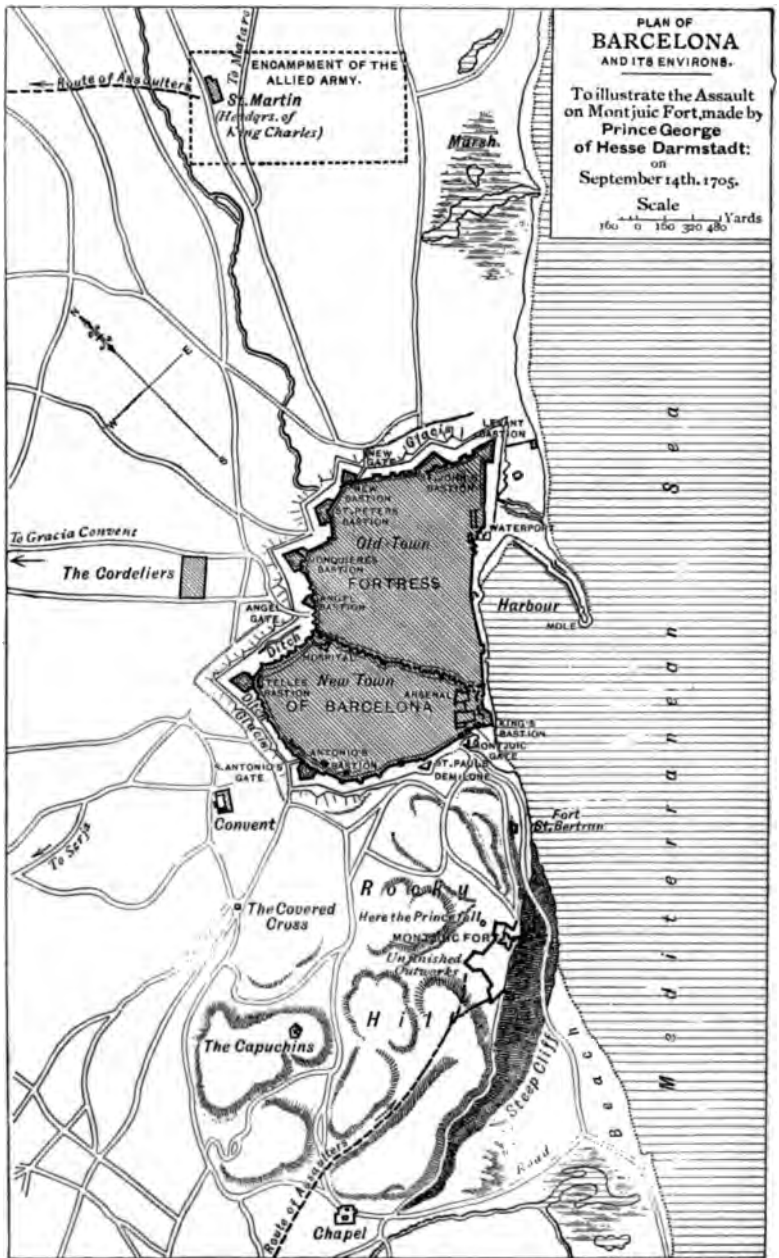
Meanwhile a detachment of Catalan miquelets (under whose leadership is not recorded) carried out, unaided, the enterprise in the execution of which the Prince had been killed; for they bravely assaulted and captured

St. Bertran, and thus completely cut off Caracioli's communications.[1]

Next day, having brought up two 7-inch mortars from the camp, Richards bombarded Montjuic; and on the 17th a shell fell on the building where the powder was kept (for there was no regular magazine) and blew it up, together with part of one of the small bastions. Caracioli and several of his officers and men were killed, and Southwell, who was at the time in command of the troops, advanced sword in hand to the breach. Colonel Mena, the lieutenant-governor, then hung out a white flag; and the garrison, numbering fifteen officers and 290 men, surrendered as prisoners of war.

The attack on Barcelona itself (on the south-west side) was now proceeded with, and to this end Sir Cloudesley and the fleet had already made active pre-

[1] *Note on the Plan of Barcelona.*—At the siege of 1705 by the Allies, the front of the fortress which Prince George wished to breach was that comprised by St. John's and the New Bastion. The commencement and end of the route he afterwards took to assault Montjuic is marked by the red dotted lines; and the spot where he fell during his subsequent advance on St. Bertran is also shown. The reserves under Stanhope were drawn up at the Covered Cross, and it was somewhere on the circuitous track between this post and Montjuic outworks that Peterborough took up his position. In the subsequent attack on the fortress carried out by Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Petit, the curtain breached was that between St. Paul's Demilune and San Antonio Bastion. The plan serves also to elucidate the operations at the French sieges of 1697 and 1706. At the former the attack was directed against the front between the New and St. Peter's (or San Pedro) Bastion (the fort of Montjuic being disregarded) and was eventually successful. [See Chap. I.] At the latter the approaches, in the first instance, were carried forward against Montjuic (which by that time had been much enlarged and strengthened), and only on its capture were trenches pushed against Barcelona itself, the portion breached being the same as had been battered by Petit and Richards. But owing to the delay caused by the good resistance made at Montjuic, the fortress was relieved before an assault could be delivered. [See Chaps. XVII. and XVIII.]



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parations. On receiving the news of the Prince's capture of Montjuic outworks, the admiral had directed Fairborne to shell the fortress. The bomb-vessels commenced operations on the 15th, and continued their fire daily till the place was taken. Next day the admiral disembarked on the beach, at the foot of Montjuic hill, 2,500 English and 680 Dutch seamen, whom he formed into companies and battalions under their own officers. He also commenced to land the heavy guns and ammunition needed in the breaching battery, for the construction and service of which he provided strong detachments of carpenters and gunners. The bulk of the Allied army remained in their camp on the north-east side of Barcelona, and the operations undertaken against the fortress on the south-west (or Montjuic) side were almost entirely carried on by the seamen and their officers, under the direction of Petit and Richards. In their labours they were zealously assisted by the Catalan miquelets and the country people, who all along had been eager for the attack.

The work erected by Petit was simply a large battery (without trenches or parallels), and precisely the same as he and the Prince had wished to have effected three weeks ago, though on the north-eastern side of the fortress. But by the change of sides no military advantage had been reaped; and although by the assault of Montjuic the unwilling English commander had been coerced to undertake the duty on which he had been ordered to Spain, yet in the operation the Allies had lost the leader of the whole expedition, together with 600 officers and men. The duties of minister of war to King Charles were now undertaken by Prince Lichtenstein (who was doubtless assisted by Count Uhlfeldt); and the organization of the miquelets and countrymen was supervised by a committee of prominent

Catalans. But the loss of the Prince was irreparable; the mainspring of the Allied movements was gone; and never till now (wrote Paul Methuen) had the English been aware of the extreme affection borne by the Catalans towards their former viceroy.[1]

On the 20th Petit broke ground at 400 yards from the escarp between St. Paul's Demilune and San Antonio's Bastion; and next day Charles took up his quarters at Serja on the western side. The battery under construction was intended for fifty-eight guns and mortars; and on the 24th Richards was able to open fire from eight guns and three mortars, whilst four days later the whole number were in action. Velasco made a fair artillery resistance, and every day a few casualties occurred among the seamen and the train. But he attempted no sortie, and his defence was by no means spirited. On the 25th Petit (whose energy was ceaseless) was slightly wounded, but was not disabled for long. By October 3rd a large breach had been formed, and was ready to be stormed. This was all that the governor needed in order to capitulate without discredit; and on the 4th, being summoned by Lichtenstein, he agreed to negotiate. Hostilities ceased; and it was arranged that on the 14th Velasco and the garrison should march out with the honours of war.

But on the morning of that day the smouldering hostility of the citizens to the conquered governor broke out into open insurrection. The dispirited Bourbon troops were attacked, and the gates were opened to admit the Catalan miquelets. The governor applied to Charles

[1] To show the nature however of Peterborough's feelings towards Prince George, it may be mentioned that on October 23rd, 1705, he wrote to Godolphin expressing his opinion that the death of the Prince was "of the greatest importance for the public success," for the people would "never submit to German governors."

for protection; the Allied troops entered; and chiefly through the tact of Stanhope (who knew the language and customs of the people) the tumult was appeased, Velasco himself being sent on board ship. The disaffected state of the garrison itself was then manifested; for nearly 2,500 of their number joined the Allies, and only 1,200 were left to be shipped off with Velasco to Malaga.

During the delay before Barcelona the Count of Cifuentes (already mentioned as an Austrian partisan) had placed himself at the head of a force of 2,400 armed Catalans in the west of the principality, and had boldly appeared before the important fortress of Lerida, which, owing to its situation near the Arragon frontier was only second in importance to Barcelona. The place immediately declared for Charles, and the citizens opened their gates to the miquelet leader. Thence with great audacity he proceeded along the frontier, raising the Austrian standard, and everywhere he was welcomed by the inhabitants, who obliged the Bourbon garrisons to submit. It was not long before he seized all the strong places in this part of the province and even secured Mequinenza and Monzon within the adjacent territory of Arragon.

In the south these efforts were seconded by another daring commander named Joseph Nebot, who reduced the fortress of Tortosa on the Ebro, and towards the end of September invested Tarragona, a stronghold on the coast. On the 27th at the request of the King, Sir Cloudesley sent Captain Cavendish in the "Antelope," with the "Garland" and "Roebuck" frigates, the "Phœnix" fireship and a bomb-vessel, to assist Nebot's operations. On arrival before the town Cavendish summoned the governor, and on his refusing to surrender, proceeded to cannonade the seaward

defences. A flag of truce was then displayed; and the magistrates came on board with the intimation that, the governor having been secured, the garrison desired to capitulate; thereupon Nebot entered, and the Bourbon troops became prisoners of war.

Whilst these events were occurring in the south and west, the fortress of Gerona in the north-east, the natural base of operations for the defence of Catalonia against invasion from Rousillon, declared for Charles and received a Catalan garrison. By the time that Barcelona had fallen the fortified towns of Vich, Urgel, St. Feliu, Cardona and Manresa, with thirty-two smaller ones, had also submitted to the Allies; and except the seaport of Rosas (close to the French frontier) practically the whole of Catalonia had joined the Austrian cause.

The subjection of this important principality, thus early accomplished through the enterprise of Cifuentes, Nebot and the other Catalan leaders (and in spite of the disheartening effect of the delay before Barcelona), was a proof of the good judgment of Prince George in designing the expedition to Catalonia and of the sagacity of the King in resisting the intrigues of Peterborough to lure away the troops to Italy. By the efforts of Cifuentes and Ramos the provinces of Arragon and Valencia were also being rapidly undermined in their allegiance to the Bourbons; and soon, had the Prince lived, he would have held actual sway over the ancient kingdom of which he had been appointed vicar-general.

Meanwhile Stanhope, Shannon and Norris were sent to England with the despatches announcing the capture of Barcelona, and Norris was knighted. On October 23rd Sir Cloudesley with the bulk of the fleet

sailed home, whilst Leake and Wassenaer were left to command the winter squadron at Lisbon.[1]

[1] Treasury Papers, XCVI. 51; XCVII. 104; CII. 36, 130; CXLVII. 22. State Papers, Spain [1700-13], 132: Dom. Anne [1702-6], V. 87: Ordnance Minutes [1718], 228. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXII. 133; XXV. 136. Add. Coll., Godolphin, 28056, (with Methuen's account) f. 25, 309, 329, 337, 351-5, 392: Leake, 5443, f. 177: Autograph, 28103, f. 91, 931. Lond. Gaz., Oct. 15-18 (special supplement), Nov. 22-26, 1705. Boyer, IV. (with letter of King Charles) 146-154, 286; VIII. [1708], 375. Rieutort (with D'Assumar's despatch), 19, 20, 41-52, 57. Impartial Hist. (with Shovel's despatch) 27, 31, 33, 36, 38, 42, 44-56. Eyewitness's remarks (by Dr. Kingston) [1707], 7-8, 39. St. Pierre, 34-36, 41-45, 59-60. Cunningham, I. 432-3. Burnet (with Stanhope's account), 774, 777. Stephen Leake, 161-169. Coxe, I. 331-2. Lamberty (with Van Allemond's despatch), III. 531-3. Targe (with accounts of San Felipe, Ottieri and San Vitali), IV. 80-4, 111, 116-121, 126-9. Larrey, III. 279-280. Limiers, VIII. 51. Lett. Hist. XXVIII. 496-7, 605-6; XXIX. 91. Quincy, IV. 649-651. St. Simon, IV. 314. Berwick, I. 264. Küntzel, 662-6, 702. Letters of James Stanhope (App. to Mahon's history), 75, 78. Peterborough's letters to Stanhope, 1, *et seq.* Luttrell, V. 598; VI. 257. Tindal, XVI. 163-9. Somerville, 102. Smollett, II. 63-4. Oldmixon, 362. Campbell, III. 252-4; [1779], 91; IV. 472. Nicolas I. 12. Harrison's reign of Queen Anne [1744], 211. History of Queen Anne (anonymous) [1740], 163. Chamberlen's reign of Queen Anne [1738], 206. Millot, II. 362. Reboulet, III. 241-3. Daniel's history of France [1726]. Voltaire's Siècle [1752], 381-4. Cannon, 36th Regt. 9-11.

CHAPTER XV.

The Reduction of Valencia.

After possession had been taken of Barcelona, there being no military head to direct the arrangements of the Allies, much confusion resulted. The English and Dutch troops were crowded into several large barracks and empty convents, where they had no beds, firing, or proper accommodation. The weather was cold and rainy; the men had to lie on the bare stone floors; many fell sick and died; and in a short time nearly one-third of the whole English force was in hospital. Unfortunately relations of animosity had arisen between Peterborough and the German Court. Since the death of the Prince the English leader had been awarded a commission as general in the service of King Charles, and it was hoped that this step would create more harmony; but such was not the case; for having conceived an invincible hatred to the Germans, he steadily obstructed all their plans and proposals. His letters at this time (and indeed throughout the whole of his career in Spain) teemed with abuse of everybody, and everything, that was German. But inasmuch as his duty was to assist a German potentate to gain the throne, to obey his orders and to act in concert with his ministers, his policy neither promoted the welfare of

the English troops, nor the success of the Austrian cause.

Indeed so disgusted was Charles with his foolish conduct that he actually wrote to Methuen at Lisbon desiring that Galway might be ordered to Barcelona to direct the Allied operations; and on December 9th the ambassador communicated on the subject with Godolphin; but no action was taken in the matter. Charles however maintained a correspondence with Galway, who recommended him to apply for Corsana (whom the English general much esteemed) as a commander for his Spanish troops, and to keep the Allied forces together as much as possible. But the sickness they had undergone at Barcelona conveniently furnished Peterborough with a reason for advising the direct contrary, and for urging their dispersion throughout Catalonia. His own wish was to free himself from the German Court at the earliest opportunity, and the plan he proposed would afford him scope for independent action.

It was not long before Charles and Lichtenstein, who were equally anxious for his absence, concurred with his views; and in December the Allies were distributed among the various fortresses of Catalonia. To Lerida were sent Conyngham's dragoons, the English marines, two battalions of Dutch, two of Neapolitans and Ahumada's newly-raised regiment of Catalans, numbering in all 3,700 men. They were commanded by Lieutenant-General Conyngham, under whom were Colonel Wills (recently adjutant-general but now colonel of the late Saunderson's Marines) and the Dutch Colonel Palms. In conjunction with the miquelets, this force was to watch the Arragon frontier; and since evidently the principal Bourbon attempt to recover Barcelona would be made from that quarter, it

constituted the Allied post of honour. To Gerona were despatched Charlemont's Foot, two Dutch battalions and one of Neapolitans, the whole numbering 2,000 men. These were commanded by Major-General Scratenbach (the Dutch leader), under whom were Lord Donegal, Lord Charlemont and Brigadier-General St. Amand. To garrison Tortosa, and if necessary to operate thence in Valencia (where at this time Ramos was gradually subduing the country) there were the Royal Dragoons, with Barrymore's, Donegal's and Mountjoy's foot, mustering in all 1,400 men, under Brigadier-General Killigrew. Lastly, in order to procure more money and supplies, Peterborough sent Richards (the commandant of artillery) to England, and Hamilton (the quarter-master-general) to Mr. Hill, the ambassador at Turin.

During September Ramos had been blockaded in Denia by the Spanish General Salazar, who then commanded the Bourbon force in Valencia. But after a short time that general retired with most of his troops, leaving Colonel Raphael Nebot with a good regiment of horse (600 strong) to watch the place. This officer was the brother of Joseph Nebot, who had effected so much for the Austrian cause in Catalonia; and deeming that Raphael was disaffected to the Bourbons, and would not long oppose his brother, Ramos began to sound him. Gradually they proceeded to treat with each other, and eventually Nebot agreed to join Ramos and to bring over his regiment. But the lieutenant-colonel and some of the subordinate officers had to be disposed of, and one night, by pre-arrangement with Nebot, Ramos made a sally and took them prisoners whilst asleep. The whole regiment then came over to the Austrian side. Ramos and Nebot

now resolved to extend the Catalan revolt throughout Valencia, and if possible to reduce the whole territory to the obedience of King Charles. With their new horse and a detachment of armed Valencians they marched to Oliva, twelve miles from Denia, where they were well received; and thence they proceeded to Gandia, Alcira and Xativa. All these places (of which the two last were of some strength), after a show of resistance, opened their gates and declared for Charles. The news spread far and wide, and soon it became evident that the province of Valencia generally was inclined to follow their example.

Ramos then conceived the idea of marching on Valencia city itself. This was a walled town of 15,000 inhabitants, amply defensive against any force (like that of Ramos) unaccompanied by guns. To make an imposing appearance he swelled his small body of horse and foot (which hardly exceeded 700 men) by a great number of armed peasants, and marching boldly up to the gates, summoned the viceroy. The great mass of the inhabitants were strongly inclined to the Austrians, and especially to Ramos, who was their own countryman; but the viceroy, the nobles and the upper classes were Bourbons. However, being in awe of the populace, they offered no opposition; the magistrates delivered up the keys, and Ramos entered in triumph. He deposed the viceroy; appointed the Count de Cardona, an Austrian adherent, to succeed him; confiscated the property of the Bourbons, and firmly established the Austrian rule. Soon afterwards the citizens raised a regiment of horse and another of foot, and the defences were put in a good condition. By the occupation of the capital, the subjugation of Valencia was practically completed; and at the end of December the only important Valencian town that

had not joined King Charles was the fortress of Alicant on the coast.

To countenance the Bourbon nobility, and if possible to recover some of the towns won by Ramos, Tzerclaes de Tilly, who commanded in Arragon, detached a force of 1,500 horse and 1,000 foot (all Spaniards) under the command of Lieutenant-General De Las Torres, who in the middle of December crossed the northern frontier of Valencia. The first place he attacked was Montroi, which resisted for twenty-four hours and then surrendered at discretion. Morella and the adjacent villages soon afterwards submitted, and he advanced to San Mateo. This was a walled town of some importance, capable of making a good resistance against a besieger without artillery. The governor was Lieutenant-Colonel John Jones (a major of Barrymore's), who on account of his knowledge of the Spanish language had been lent to King Charles for the purpose of heading the revolted Valencians near the Catalan frontier. From the fortress of Tortosa, distant about twenty-eight miles, Jones had procured 30 of the Royal Dragoons and 300 Catalan miquelets; he was also joined by 700 Valencian militia under Captain Bach, and on the arrival of Las Torres the burghers took up arms to assist the garrison.

Having invested the place, the Spanish general occupied two monasteries close outside the walls, whence he poured a heavy fire of musketry on the defenders. He also commenced approaches against the two gates, which Jones then strengthened and retrenched. That night the governor managed to send messengers by secret paths to Killigrew at Tortosa requesting relief. Neither the attackers nor the defenders possessed guns, but they maintained an incessant fire of musketry, and at every available posi-

tion along the walls Jones erected parapets of wool-sacks and other materials. On the 31st, the garrison being deficient of ammunition, the citizens produced their pewter pots and dishes, and quickly cast the necessary bullets. Next day Las Torres having received a slight reinforcement from Morella began to drive a mine opposite the Barcelona gate; but rain having fallen, an adjacent rivulet overflowed, ran into the gallery, and stopped its progress. On the following day he commenced another; but in the night two resolute men sallied from the town, and let out the water from a large washing tank belonging to a mill. The stream found its way into the mouth of the new mine, filled it, and drowned several of the workmen. On January the 3rd, the garrison being again short of projectiles, the pipes of the church organ were melted.

In command of a regiment of dragoons serving under Las Torres was an Irish colonel named Daniel Mahoni,[1] who wrote to the governor advising him to surrender whilst quarter could be obtained; but Jones remained steadfast to his post. On the 7th bread began to be scarce, and Las Torres again summoned the garrison, but without effect. Next day the firing was brisk on both sides; but on the 9th the Spanish general suddenly struck his camp and marched southward. He had heard that a relieving column was on its way from Tortosa; and on the 10th these troops, numbering upwards of 2,000 men, and bringing a train of four guns, entered the place. During the thirteen days' siege (partly by desertion) Las Torres

[1] In 1702, at the defence of Cremona against the attempt at surprise made by Prince Eugene, Colonel Mahoni had particularly distinguished himself; and it was mainly owing to his efforts and presence of mind on that occasion that the Imperialists were eventually repulsed.

lost a considerable number of men; but the casualties of the defenders amounted only to eleven killed and twenty wounded. The force from Tortosa comprised the whole of its regular garrison (together with Zinzendorf's Spanish dragoons) under the immediate command of Killigrew, and consisted of 470 horse, 1,100 foot and 500 Valencian miquelets, besides artillery. It was accompanied by Peterborough, who, just as the troops were starting from Tortosa, had joined them from Barcelona. The invasion of Las Torres had afforded him a convenient pretext for leaving King Charles and procuring an agreeable residence in the pleasure-loving capital of Valencia; and of this opportunity he was not slow to avail himself.

Baffled before San Mateo by Jones's good defence, Las Torres advanced slowly southward. At Villa Real the townspeople having shut their gates repulsed his assaults; and he lost 400 men before he could enter the place, which he only effected through a treacherous stratagem. He at once put the whole population to the sword; and his troops committed terrible excesses. He then burnt the town of Quart, and after leaving his wounded at Murviedro, halted at Torrente, six miles from Valencia. Here he was joined by the Duc De Arcos, whom Philip had appointed viceroy of Valencia, and had sent from Castille with a body of 2,300 Spanish regulars and militia. The two generals blockaded the city, cutting off the water and supplies; but being without artillery, and the defensive dispositions made by Ramos being very efficient, they were unable to attack it. That general made an assault on one of their posts at Chivas; but his men were drawn into an ambuscade; many of them were killed; and the rest, consisting chiefly of armed peasants, hastily retreated. Not long after-

wards he made a daring attack on a party of the enemy at Burchasot; but his levies were again repulsed with loss. Meanwhile Las Torres and Arcos were not in harmony; for the latter, though not a trained soldier, was yet, as viceroy, able to direct and control the former. Las Torres soon obtained leave to proceed to Madrid; and Arcos, with a force of about 3,800 men, continued to watch Valencia from the west at about twelve miles' distance.

After the relief of San Mateo, Peterborough and Killigrew proceeded with a portion of their horse to Castillon, where later on they were joined by Brigadier-General Gorges with the rest of the troops, and by a reinforcement of 100 horse and 1,200 foot from Catalonia. With their numbers swelled by a large body of militia, the whole army advanced to the Valencian capital. The country, since its conquest by Ramos, having become strongly Austrian, and Arcos having no idea of attacking them, their march was unopposed; and in a few days they were joined from the city itself by Nebot at the head of 200 horse. The total Allied strength was then about 6,570 men and four guns.[1] On reaching Murviedro, where Las Torres had left his wounded, Mahoni with his regiment of dragoons was found to be in possession of the old castle and bridge; but there was no artillery nor means for making a resistance, and the Irish colonel had been ordered there for the purpose of carrying away the wounded to a place of security. In order to be permitted to do so, he readily consented to deliver up the castle and bridge; and a

[1] The troops were as follows:—Nebot's Horse, 200; Moras's Horse, 100; Royal Dragoons, 170; Pearce's Dragoons (late Barrymore's foot), 300; Zinzendorf's Dragoons, 300; total horse, 1,070: Rivers's, Donegal's, Mountjoy's, Gorges's and Colberg's (Spanish) foot, numbering in all 2,000: and Valencian militia, about 3,500.

few days afterwards Peterborough, Gorges, Killigrew and the Allies entered Valencia, where they obtained very comfortable quarters.[1] Meanwhile Las Torres, who had returned from Madrid, superseded Arcos and took up a position with his small force twenty miles to the westward.[2]

[1] During his progress from Tortosa to Valencia city Peterborough (according to his own account) took the most extraordinary precautions to avoid the possibility of being obliged to fight Las Torres or Arcos.

[2] State Papers, Spain [1700-13], 132. Add. Coll., Godolphin, 28056, f. 337, 369, 377, 379, 381, 391-2; 28057, f. 91, 99: Strafford, 31134, f. 295. Lond. Gaz., Dec. 17-20, 1705; Jan. 3-7, March 7-14, 25-28, April 4-8, 1706. Boyer, IV. 154-161; V. 110. St. Pierre, 45-50, 52-59. Journal of the siege of San Mateo [1706], 1-23. Burnet, 790. Impartial Hist., 79. Rieutort (dedication). Eyewitness, 8-10, 13-15, 24. Stephen Leake, 187. Peterborough, 1, *et seq.* Freind, 197-205, 207-216, 221-2, 249-251, 260-270. Cunningham, I. 236, 434, 450, 464-6. Hist. MSS. Comm. IX. 467. Quincy, IV. 652-3; V. 193-8. Targe, IV. 134-141, 368. Larrey, III. 289-290. St. Simon, V. 2. Colbert, 321. Tessé, II. 105, 206-9, 214. Millot, II. 368-371. Tindal, XVI. 169-170. Smollett, II. 65.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Campaign in Arragon.

On the news of the fall of Barcelona reaching Versailles, King Louis immediately made strenuous preparations to recover it. Tessé was directed to leave the Portuguese frontier, and to bring over the whole of the available Bourbon troops into Arragon, which as yet had not (to any material extent) wavered in its allegiance to Philip; a large body of French soldiers was sent to Rousillon under Lieutenant-General De Légal; and at Toulon a fleet was fitted out under Toulouse and D'Estrées. In November Tessé left Estremadura for Madrid, where he conferred with Philip; and on January 21st he arrived at Saragossa, whence he proceeded to Pina, lower down the Ebro, and awaited further orders from France.

On the 22nd his advanced force under D'Asfeld, numbering nine squadrons and nine battalions, arrived at Balbastro. At Tamarite, not far distant, Conyngham had posted an outlying detachment of horse; and expecting them to be attacked, he sent Colonel Wills with 600 English marines to support them, following himself next day with his own dragoons and a battalion of Dutch foot under Colonel Palms. On the 24th, with 30 horse and 400 foot, Wills advanced to San Estevan de Litera: and the following day he met the

French vanguard, whom he vigorously assailed and drove back on their main body. At night he was joined by Conyngham and the rest of the troops. Early on the 26th D'Asfeld with his whole force, numbering 4,500 men (all French), marched forward to the attack. Conyngham had only 1,200 men (800 being English and the rest Dutch), whom he drew up in a strong position on the side of a hill. At 8 a.m. the engagement began. Two companies of marines who were in front were at first overwhelmed and beaten back by Brigadier-General Polastron; but Major Burston of Wills's, having promptly brought up the supports, charged the French and repulsed them. Both sides displayed great bravery and frequently crossed bayonets; but despite his inferiority in numbers, Conyngham held his ground.

When the fighting had continued for some time the Allied leader received a dangerous wound. He was carried off the field, and Wills took command. At three o'clock, after a struggle of seven hours, D'Asfeld, finding that he could make no impression on the resolute Allies, withdrew from the battle and retreated to Fons. Wills remained two hours longer in his position and then retired to Balaguer. In this well-fought action the French lost 400 killed or wounded. The Allied casualties were 150 men, besides several officers, amongst them being Palms and Burston who were severely wounded. But their principal loss was in their gallant commander Conyngham, who died at Balaguer on the third day after the fight.[1] This was the only occasion throughout the war in which no Spaniards

[1] In character Henry Conyngham appears to have been a bluff, plain-speaking man. With Peterborough he was not on good terms; and after his death the English commander, on being called upon to account for certain heavy cash deficiencies, promptly suggested that Conyngham's estate should bear the charge!

fought on either side, and the French were opposed solely by English and Dutch. King Charles rewarded Wills with the commission of major-general; and Prince Henry of Darmstadt (with the same rank) was appointed to succeed Conyngham as governor of Lerida.

It had been Tessé's wish first to sever the communications between Valencia and Catalonia; then to besiege and capture Tortosa, Lerida and Gerona; and finally to attack Barcelona. But Louis (or his minister of war) had conceived a plan of a much bolder nature. This was that Tessé, abandoning his communications with Arragon and Spain, should march straight for Barcelona; and there, having joined hands with Légal from Rousillon and the French ships from Toulon, should at once commence the siege of the fortress, resting on the fleet as his base. From the latter he would draw his siege train and supplies; and having fortified himself in rear, he would endeavour to capture the place before a relief fleet of sufficient strength could arrive from Lisbon. This strategy had been greatly facilitated by Peterborough's proceedings; for, besides the 3,070 regular troops he had taken to Valencia, he had since been joined there from Lerida and Tortosa by two battalions of Neapolitans, Ahumada's Spanish foot and detachments of Spanish dragoons, amounting in all to 2,400 men. He had thus withdrawn from the defence of Catalonia no less than 5,470 regulars. To replace the troops he had taken from Lerida and Tortosa, Hamilton's Foot, a Neapolitan battalion and some newly-raised Catalan troops had been detached from Barcelona; consequently in February the regular garrison in that place did not exceed 1,400 men.

To give lustre to the siege by his presence, King Philip resolved to accompany Tessé. He left Madrid

in February, and on March 12th arrived at Caspe on the Ebro, where, at the head of 12,000 men, Tessé had established his camp. On the 17th, having passed the Cinca, the Bourbons entered Catalonia, and on the 23rd rested on the left bank of the Segre. Next day, taking the route leading across the mountains by Cervera, Igualada and the pass of Martorel, they marched towards Barcelona. Their difficulties then began; for the miquelet leader Cifuentes, with a detachment of Spanish horse, had placed himself at the head of 8,000 armed Catalans; and during their march over the mountains the French were greatly harassed by his daring attacks, and by the repeated alarms he caused on their flanks and rear. He was joined from Lerida by Prince Henry, who was at the head of 600 Neapolitans and 1,000 miquelets; and these two generals closely followed up Tessé's rear until he arrived before Barcelona.

Meanwhile, in Rousillon, Légal had united his own troops with those of Major-General De Noailles who commanded the district, and was thus at the head of 5 squadrons and 21 battalions, or 9,000 men in all, besides 15 field-guns. With these he marched on Barcelona through the mountainous district of Ampurdan. At Gerona, Donegal was now governor (for Scratenbach had died there early in the year); and he had already operated against Noailles. But no important action had occurred, and the Allied force was far too small to resist the advance of Légal.

In connection with the march of that general, Toulouse had collected at Toulon a fleet numbering 28 sail of the line, 8 frigates, 10 galleys and 5 bomb-vessels, which were accompanied by 184 transports carrying a siege train, ammunition and provisions. He sailed on March 3rd, and on April 1st anchored in Barcelona

roads. On the 2nd Légal reached the fortress from Rousillon; and on the 3rd Tessé, with Philip, arrived from Arragon. Thus by a very skilful concentration of land and sea forces, the naval and military power of France was simultaneously brought to bear on the Catalonian stronghold.[1]

[1] State Papers, Spain [1700-13], 132. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXV. 136. Add. Coll., Godolphin, 28057, f. 15, 22, 29, 30, 67, 77, 99: Leake, 5438, f. 112. Calendars, CXII. 34. Lond. Gaz., March 7-11, 18-21, 25-28, April 1-4, 18-29, 1706. Boyer, IV. 161; V. 111-112, 132. St. Pierre, 63. Impartial Hist., 79. Freind, 65-6. Cunningham, I. 464. Quincy, IV. 653; V. 194-5, 199-205, 207-8. Targe, IV. 135, 371-2. Larrey, III. 289-292. St. Simon, V. 2. Tessé, II. 208-217. Millot, II. 363-8, 378-380. Tindal, XVI. 176.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Defence of Barcelona.

At this time the governor of Barcelona was the German Count Uhlfeldt, whom Charles had promoted to the rank of general; but since the first manifestations of an approaching siege, the King himself had resolved to remain in the place, with Lichtenstein as his minister of war. The regular garrison consisted only of 400 Spanish horse, 700 Spanish foot (the King's Guards), the English Guards (under Colonel Richard Russell) mustering 300 men, and a small English train (supplemented by some Spanish gunners who had joined from Velasco's force). In addition there were 1,500 miquelets, who threw themselves into the place just before the arrival of the besiegers. But the spirited townsmen, encouraged by the determination of the King to stay with them, had enrolled themselves into companies, and 5,000 of them were thus available for the defence of the less exposed posts.

The chief engineer was Colonel Petit; and owing to his exertions the fortifications were in an efficient condition, whilst the place was well provided with guns, ammunition and defensive *matériel*. At Montjuic the half-formed outworks had been completed into a good line of bastioned fortification with ditches, covered

way and glacis; whilst in front of a demi-bastion on the west a small lunette had also been thrown up. On the new ramparts several guns had been mounted; and the old fort formed a strong keep to the main line of defence thus created in advance. Moreover, between the fortress and Montjuic, in substitution for the small detached work of St. Bertran which had been demolished, a continuous line of intrenchment with a pallisaded ditch had been constructed.

Orders had been sent by Lichtenstein to Donegal, at Gerona, to throw in all the troops available from that place; and to the governor of Tortosa to despatch Hamilton's foot. By forced marches on mules this regiment, 400 strong, managed to arrive at Barcelona on the very day that Tessé appeared before the place.

The total strength of the besieging army was 21,000 men, the whole of whom, except two troops of horse, were French. Their chief engineer was again Lieutenant-General De La Para, who had attacked the fortress in 1697; and under him was Major-General Renaud, who had been the chief French engineer before Gibraltar. Tessé had determined to lose no time in commencing operations; for on the morning of the 4th, the day after his arrival, and before the whole of his troops had reached the camp, he sent a strong detachment to attempt the surprise of Montjuic. But Hamilton's men who had just been posted there were on the alert, and quickly repulsed the assaulters. An attack on the Capuchin Convent at the foot of Montjuic hill, occupied by the miquelets as an advanced post, was more successful; and after a brave defence the building was captured.

Tessé then completed the formation of his encampment, invested the fortress, and threw up lines of circumvallation in his rear; whilst King Philip took up

his quarters at Serja. The same day Cifuentes made an irruption from the hills near Gracia, and captured 700 sheep from the French commissariat park. Next morning however it was found that a small tower commanding the beach below Montjuic, held by fifty Neapolitans, had been betrayed by them to the enemy. Toulouse was thus enabled without difficulty to land the guns, ammunition and stores brought by his transports. At this time Tessé's communications with the interior were completely cut off, and he relied wholly on the fleet for the sustenance of his troops.

On the 5th the garrison received a welcome reinforcement of 1,800 men, who arrived by water from Gerona under the command of Donegal. They consisted of Charlemont's Foot, two battalions of Dutch, and one of Neapolitans. Having embarked in boats and dropped down the Ter to its mouth, they had crept close in shore along the eighty miles of coast stretching thence to Barcelona, where, after eluding Toulouse's blockade, they landed without losing a man.[1] To Donegal (under whom were placed the three English regiments) was entrusted the defence of Montjuic. There were now in the whole fortress 3,600 regulars, including 1,100 English, 1,100 Spanish, 900 Dutch and 500 Neapolitans.

In the night Cifuentes, having made a sally on Serja, nearly captured Philip, and actually secured his plate and goods. Thenceforward that monarch preferred to sleep on board the French flagship.

Next day a further succour arrived by boats in the shape of a dismounted detachment of Conyngham's dragoons. They had been sent by Wills from Lerida to join Prince Henry; and that general, knowing Uhlfeldt's wish for English troops, had embarked

[1] Donegal was accompanied by St. Amand, but not by Charlemont.

them at Mataro. La Para now commenced his attack by opening parallels and erecting batteries against Montjuic. On the 7th the miquelets made two sorties from Barcelona, driving some of the French workmen out of the trenches; and at the same timé Cifuentes threatened the enemy's camp, an operation which he frequently afterwards repeated. In these enterprises he was aided by Prince Henry, and throughout the siege these two brave commanders acted in complete concord. King Charles rode every day either to Montjuic or round the ramparts of the town, and his conduct greatly animated the troops and citizens. On the 12th La Para had completed two 6-gun works opposite the faces of the bastions in the western front of the new Montjuic lines. At a distance of 1,300 yards from the escarp between the bastion of San Antonio and the demilune of St. Paul he had also commenced approaches and an 8-gun emplacement against the fortress itself; but he intended to press this attack more vigorously after Montjuic had been captured.

On the 13th he battered that fort from his twelve guns, and shelled it from four mortars, causing much loss among the Dutch who were on guard. The guns at Montjuic were badly served, chiefly by Spaniards, and were soon silenced. The following day the French engineer opened a new battery of eight guns, wherewith he began to breach the escarp of the western demi-bastion. On the evening of the 15th he assaulted the advanced lunette; the Spanish regiment of King's Guards who were on duty behaved ill and gave way, and the work was captured. The French then stormed the main line in rear; but they were firmly resisted by Donegal and the English, and after two hours' hard fighting were driven back. The lodgment made on the lunette was at once converted into a 5-gun

battery which added its fire to those already in action; and soon two large breaches had been formed in the main escarp, one being in the demi-bastion, and the other in the central one. But on the 17th, whilst reconnoitring from the lodgment, La Para was wounded by a bullet, and died two hours afterwards.

On the 19th Toulouse began to bombard the town from the ships, whilst the 8-gun battery against the fortress also opened fire. But against the shells, which throughout the remainder of the siege were rained on the town both from sea and land, Charles and his ministers, and the non-combatant inhabitants generally, found a fairly secure refuge in the numerous vaults and cellars which underlaid the churches and larger buildings. Meanwhile the King continued to inspire the people by his courage and patience; and at the same time the priests, women and children assisted the troops in every possible manner, being especially useful in the commissariat and hospital departments.

On the 21st, at 7 p.m., the breaches at Montjuic being practicable, Tessé delivered an assault in great force. At the more exposed one—that in the demi-bastion—the English Guards and Charlemont's, numbering 500 men, under the personal command of Donegal, gallantly repulsed the French grenadiers; but at the other, the Spanish Guards were overpowered and were obliged to retire into the keep. The victorious stormers then attacked Donegal's party in rear. The English fought most intrepidly and endeavoured to cut their way into the keep, but were overwhelmed by superior numbers; 300 of them were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and only a small remnant were able to make good their retreat. Among the captured officers were Russell (commanding the Guards) and Wrey, his lieutenant-colonel, the latter

of whom, a few days afterwards, died of his wounds. But Donegal himself, whilst fighting like a lion in the thickest of the enemy, was killed. He was offered, but would accept no quarter; and before he fell (according even to the Bourbon accounts) he had slain with his own hand several French grenadiers.

Renaud who had succeeded La Para, having formed lodgments on the captured works, began to shell the keep and to batter its curtain; and as it possessed no bomb-proofs, it was soon untenable. Hence on the night of the 25th, after removing its guns and stores, Uhlfeldt abandoned the fort, and brought the remains of its brave garrison into Barcelona.[1]

Renaud now devoted the whole of his efforts to the siege of the town, and pushed forward the approaches commenced by La Para. But the admittedly mistaken tactics of that engineer had lost the Bourbons three precious weeks, which, if they had been devoted solely to the attack of the fortress, would probably have witnessed its fall. On the night of the 23rd Uhlfeldt received from Prince Henry a very acceptable addition to his regulars, who by this time had much dwindled in numbers. It consisted of 400 Neapolitans and formed the greater part of a detachment which the Prince had embarked in boats at Mataro, and had sent forth to break the blockade, under the escort of three armed galleys. But the French launches were on the alert and there ensued a smart engagement, which resulted in the greater part of the troops forcing their way into the port, whilst the remainder

[1] At the close of the siege King Charles wrote to Queen Anne to eulogize the gallant conduct of Lord Donegal and "his brave regiment." But it is certain that his own regiment took no part in the defence; and since Charlemont's came with him from Gerona, it is probable that the King mistook that corps for Donegal's.

(about 100 in number) were obliged to put back to Mataro.

On the 21st Killigrew, with 600 English and Spanish dragoons, accompanied by Peterborough (who had joined them at Tarragona by posting), arrived from Valencia at the camp of Cifuentes. For Charles had written to the English commander (who for upwards of two months had been living at ease in Valencia) demanding immediate assistance. When he was aware of Peterborough's arrival the King wrote again, strongly urging him to collect all the available regulars, and with them (in concert with Cifuentes and Prince Henry) to lead an attack on Tessé's lines. But to this course (as may be supposed) the Earl found insuperable objections, which he shielded behind the resolutions of a council of war.[1] Instead of obeying the King, he replied to his demands by advising him to desert the Catalans, and to escape from the fortress in a boat; but Charles naturally declined to adopt this course. However on the night of the 29th, with 100 Neapolitans in two galleys, Prince Henry gallantly cut his way into the fortress; and his presence proved of great assistance to the anxious defenders.

Meanwhile Renaud had proceeded briskly with the siege; and on the 28th he had eighteen guns playing on the fortress. He then began to make two breaches, one in the face of San Antonio Bastion, and the other in the curtain to the left. On the 30th Petit (who

[1] At this council *Colonel James De St. Pierre* (a Huguenot exile), commanding the Royal Dragoons, stood out against Peterborough's want of courage, and contended that it was better to make the proposed attempt, however dangerous, than to allow Charles to be taken prisoner. On those episodes of the war in which he took part, the journal of this experienced officer, and his letters to Lord Raby (in the Strafford Papers), give much information.

throughout the siege had been the soul of the defence) formed retrenchments; yet on account of the weakness of the train, and the unskilfulness of the Spanish gunners, he had been unable to offer a powerful resistance to Renaud's artillery; and on May 1st twenty-eight French pieces were pouring shot into the fast-growing breaches. On that day the enemy were within pistol-shot of the counterscarp opposite San Antonio; but at this period the able engineer Renaud was killed, and his death benumbed the siege operations. On the 3rd the French commenced mines, with which they intended to enlarge the principal breach. They were met by Petit with countermines, and their galleries made no material progress. Nevertheless they were in a position to have assaulted the covered way; and why they did not attempt this necessary enterprise, or push the attack with greater activity, is not quite clear; but apparently disputes had arisen between the engineers and the artillery, which latter corps, in the French service, was somewhat independent of the former.

On the 7th Uhlfeldt made an effective sortie on the advanced trenches, inflicting considerable injury and delaying the attackers. The same afternoon the French ships in the harbour began to loose their foretopsails, thereby revealing to the garrison the approach of Allied succours. During the evening they weighed, put to sea, and sailed eastward. Next morning a few large ships, under a press of canvas, were seen standing in towards the port from the westward. At noon these vessels anchored in the roadstead and proved to be the van of a relieving fleet from Lisbon, under the command of Sir John Leake.[1]

[1] State Papers, Spain [1700-1713], 132. Stowe Coll., Richards,

XXV. 136; XXXI. 145. Add. Coll., Godolphin, 28057, f. 91, 95, 105, 137: Strafford, 31134, f. 295, 313: Hatton Finch, 29589, f. 443. Lond. Gaz., March 18-21, April 18-May 2, 1706. Boyer (with the Journal of an English officer), V. 112, 114-135. St. Pierre, 63-66. Burnet, 790-2. Cunningham, II. 2-4. Stephen Leake, 193. Rieutort, 69. Freind, 173. Cannon, 34th Regt., 14. Larrey, III., 292-3. Lett. Hist. XXIX. 546-7, 551-4. Limiers, VIII. 80. Lamberty, IV. 150-1. Targe, IV. 372-380. Quincy, V. 208-210, 217-220. St. Simon, V. 71-72. Berwick, I. 277. Tessé, II. 218-222. Millot, II. 383-5. Tindal, XVI. 276. Trimen's records of the 35th Regiment, 10-13.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Relief of Barcelona.

On December 3rd Stanhope and Shannon had arrived in England with the news of the reduction of Catalonia; and the English ministers had at once made preparations to assist King Charles with men, money and supplies. They also resolved to send Stanhope back to Spain as ambassador (thus superseding Paul Methuen who was appointed minister at Turin), and on January 16th, 1706, he was formally commissioned. To replace Conyngham, Wyndham was ordered to join the reinforcements at Lisbon; whilst Sir Charles O'Hara was to take the post of second in command under Galway. The fresh troops destined for Catalonia amounted to nearly 5,000 men.[1] Those from England embarked at Plymouth, escorted by a detachment under Commodore Price; those from Ireland, at Cork, convoyed by another under Commodore Walker; whilst Sir George Byng brought a third squadron from Portsmouth to strengthen Sir John Leake at Lisbon. With

[1] Besides drafts (which included 300 of the Guards) there were the following fresh regiments, viz., the Royal Fusiliers, Breton's, Mohun's, Dungannon's and Toby Caulfield's. Lord Mohun did not accompany his corps.

the soldiers proceeded Lieutenant-General the Count De Noyelles, a Dutch officer, who had been selected by Charles to take command of his Spanish forces.[1] At the end of February the ships sailed from Plymouth, and on March 21st arrived at Lisbon.

On the 9th, with twenty-one sail of the line and twelve frigates, Sir John Leake had left that port for Gibraltar, where he intended to await Price; and on the 30th, whilst at sea, the "Grafton" joined the admiral from the west, bringing him the news that the siege of Barcelona was about to commence, and that the French fleet had left Toulon to co-operate. On April 2nd a despatch vessel reached him from Valencia conveying orders from Peterborough (as admiral), dated March 21st and 25th, directing that the expected reinforcements should be landed at the Grao (the port of Valencia), Denia, or Altea; Peterborough adding that he had with him a good body of troops, and hoped, with the help of the fresh arrivals, to be able "to march to Madrid." He enjoined Leake, after landing the men, to proceed to Barcelona to fight Toulouse.

On April 10th the admiral arrived at Gibraltar, and on the 14th he was joined by Price with the Plymouth transports, six sail of the line and a Dutch squadron. Next day he received despatches from King Charles and Lichtenstein, dated March 26th, stating that they were about to be besieged, and earnestly pressing him to bring the reinforcements as soon as possible to

[1] *Count Noyelles* was an officer of long service and much experience. He had fought at the Schellenburg and Blenheim, and in 1705, at the forcing of the French lines at Neerhespen, had been selected by Marlborough to lead the Allied van. By birth he was a Spaniard. Besides his Dutch commission, he held one as a lieutenant-general of the Empire. He was about sixty-six years of age.

their relief. On the 17th he again received a letter from the King and another from Peterborough. That from Charles, dated the 31st, reiterated the hope that Leake would make the best of his way to succour him; but Peterborough's contained an order, dated Valencia, March 29th, repeating in stronger terms that of the 21st, and directing that, on the arrival of the fleet off the Valencian coast, word was at once to be sent to him. "Any forces sent towards Barcelona" (he added) "are sent so far out of the way." However with the unanimous concurrence of all his junior admirals Leake resolved to comply with Charles's request, and to disregard altogether Peterborough's instructions.

The wind being contrary, it was not till the 24th that he was able to leave Gibraltar, yet he sent in advance four fast ships to gain intelligence of the state of affairs. On the 29th he arrived at Altea, where he determined to wait twenty-four hours for Byng. The same day he received a despatch from Peterborough, dated Valencia, April 7th, in which that commander said that he was aware that Charles had requested Leake to bring the troops to Barcelona, but his own orders to land them in Valencia were prior in point of time. He also enclosed (for Leake's information) a copy of his commission as admiral. In the night Gorges, who, on his chief's departure on the 7th for the camp of Cifuentes, had been left in command, came on board the flagship. He brought a further communication from Peterborough, dated "Near Barcelona," April 18th, directing that one of the fresh regiments, with the Irish drafts, should be landed in Valencia, and that the rest should be brought to Tortosa, but no nearer to Barcelona. These instructions, like the others he had received from the same source, the admiral completely ignored; and

his loyalty saved Barcelona from capture and the Austrian cause from ruin.

Next morning, with thirteen sail of the line, Byng arrived at Altea, and the whole fleet then sailed for Barcelona; but for three days a strong north wind retarded their progress, and on May 3rd they were still not far from Altea. On that day they were joined by Walker with five sail of the line and the Irish troops, and the wind having shifted, they were able to hold their course to Barcelona. They now numbered thirty-nine English ships and thirteen Dutch, besides frigates and transports. On the 6th they were off Tortosa, and next day a fast frigate, which had been sent in advance to the coast, returned with a letter from Charles, dated the 4th, in which he begged Leake to come on at once "without stopping or disembarking the forces elsewhere as some other Persons [alluding to Peterborough] may pretend to direct you, for they can be nowhere so necessary as in this town, which is on the very point of being lost for want of relief."[1]

At the same time he received no less than four despatches from the treacherous English commander-in-chief, dated April 22nd and 30th, May 2nd and May 5th. In the first and second the Earl directed 1,000 men to be landed at Barcelona, the remainder being previously put ashore at Vinaros, or not nearer than Tarragona; in the

[1] As probably manifesting one of the motives of Peterborough's conduct at this period, a letter written by him on March 30th to the Duke of Savoy is not without interest. For after referring to the fact of King Charles being hard-pressed in Barcelona, he adds: "Dieu conserve Sa Majesté . . . mais il est de mon devoir de dire à V.A.R. qu'en cas de sa Mort . . . je donnerai l'Espagne à celui qui doit l'avoir. . . . Le cas le plus fatal pour le Public sera un Roi d'Espagne Prisonnier. Le jeu sera difficile et délicat, je puis dire seulement je ferai mon mieux . . . car vos intérêts Monseigneur me seront toujours [*illeg.*] et V.A.R. ne peut souhaiter un serviteur plus passionné ou plus fidèle."

third (evidently in a state of alarm) he urged Leake to throw in the 1,000 men with all haste, otherwise the crown of Spain would be lost; and in the fourth he said that he himself was at Sitges on the coast with a number of troops in boats ready to proceed to Barcelona under the protection of the fleet. These troops were from Lerida, and consisted of 1,000 English marines and 400 Dutch foot, who, if they had been under the orders of the gallant Prince Henry, would long ago have cut their own way into Barcelona. As it was, in the face of the 5,000 troops brought by the fleet, they were practically useless.

In the afternoon, when off Tarragona, Leake issued an order that when they had arrived within twelve miles of Barcelona each captain was to press forward independently to attack the French ships. A fair wind was now blowing, and the Allies crowded on all sail; yet a fast Genoese tartan that had been on the watch outstripped them, and brought Toulouse word of the near approach of his enemies; consequently (as already mentioned) he weighed and escaped to Toulon, pusillanimously leaving Tessé to shift for himself. On the morning of the 8th Byng, Wassenaer, and some of the better-sailing ships with troops on board, pushed ahead of the rest, anchored in the roadstead, and landed the soldiers. During the forenoon Peterborough, with the small force he had collected, joined the fleet off Sitges; and at 2 p.m. Leake arrived at Barcelona, thus accomplishing one of the most important instances on record of the naval relief of a beleaguered fortress.[1]

[1] In order to appear as the saviour of Barcelona, Peterborough, on coming on board Leake's ship, caused his flag (as admiral) to be hoisted at the main whilst Leake's own (as vice-admiral) was still flying at the fore. But among the officers of the fleet Peterborough was held in great contempt, and Leake wisely judged the incident to be unworthy of serious notice.

The reinforcements were at once landed, and the place was secured from capture. However Tessé had made a wide breach, and with some reason might still have delivered an assault; but he chose the wiser course of raising the siege. For by the departure of the fleet he was left without a base, and his position was one of extreme danger; and if he did not soon move, he would probably be blocked up and starved into surrender. There was also the important question of the personal safety of King Philip to be considered, and, besides, the French army was dispirited, fatigued and sickly; for during the thirty-five days' siege, partly through the resolute defence of the garrison, and partly through the persistent attacks and alarms made by Cifuentes and his miquelets, their zeal and elasticity had become much impaired. As regards the direction of the French retreat, obviously Rousillon in France presented the most advantageous shelter; and having gained it, communication with Spain could easily and quickly be recovered through Bearn and Navarre.[1]

For three days longer the French marshal maintained a show of keeping up the siege; yet in the meantime he quietly made all preparations for his intended departure. On the night of the 11th, having struck his camp, he silently, and not unskilfully, withdrew his army, numbering 13,000 effective men, by the roads leading northward (through Moncada, Roca and Pratz de Mollo) towards Perpignan. He carried off 2,000 sick and wounded, together with his baggage and camp equipment; but for want of transport he was obliged to leave behind 900 sick, and to abandon

[1] Another reason for choosing the Rousillon route was the fact that intelligence had been received of the arrival of Galway and the Portuguese at Placentia on their march to Madrid.

the whole of the siege train, ammunition and stores with which Toulouse had supplied him.

Next morning the Allies discovered the French manœuvre; but during the night they had fully expected an assault, and Prince Henry had been appointed to command the troops at the breaches. They now realized the fact that the siege was over; and Cifuentes with his miquelets, supported by the Spanish horse, at once fastened on the French rear; but the English dragoons having been stationed by Peterborough at Martorel could not take part in the pursuit. However Cifuentes followed the French for eight days and only desisted on reaching the Ter, by which time he had cut off many stragglers, and had greatly increased the difficulties of their trying march. In revenge they burnt and devastated every village they passed through; yet it was not till the 23rd that they reached the frontier and enjoyed safety. It was a singular incident of this retreat that on its first day, during the forenoon, there was a total eclipse of the sun lasting two hours; and as the sun was the Bourbon device the phenomenon was considered a good omen for the Allies.

For the use of the sick he had left behind, Tessé sent commissaries, surgeons and money; and he wrote a letter recommending them to the protection of the Allies against the ferocity of the miquelets. The *matériel* relinquished by the French comprised 129 guns and mortars, 5,000 barrels of powder, much ammunition, 8,000 intrenching implements, 16,000 sacks of meal, 6,000 bags of oats, much rye and wheat, 10,000 pairs of shoes and other valuable stores. During the siege and retreat—in killed, wounded, sick and deserters—they lost 6,000 men.[1] The exact loss of the

[1] Tessé did not return to Spain. In 1707, with much ability and success, he defended Toulon against Prince Eugene and the

Allies is not recorded, but it can hardly have exceeded 1,000. At home the news of this great relief was received with much joy; and so important was it considered that it was coupled with Marlborough's victory at Ramilies as a reason for ordering a day of general thanksgiving.[1]

Duke of Savoy, who were aided by the Allied fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel; but that was his last military service. He died in 1725 at the age of seventy-four.

[1] State Papers, Spain [1700-13], 132, 133, 134. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXV. 136. Egerton Coll., Haddock, 2521, f. 94. Add. Coll., Godolphin, 28056, f. 246; 28057, f. 17, 30, 33, 67, 77, 87, 93, 101, 140, 158; 28058, f. 13: Leake, 5438, f. 22, 29, 31, 100, 102, 110, 114, 115, 120, 124; 5442, ff. 24-30: Hatton Finch, 29589, f. 443: Strafford, 31134, f. 313. Lond. Gaz., March 2-6, 11-14, May 20-23, 30-June 6, 1706. Boyer, IV. 113; V. 105, 131-137, 140. Stephen Leake, 169, 187-9, 195-213. Impartial Hist., 4, 60-66, 81-89, 93, 100, 104. Hist. MSS. Comm. V. 348. Murray, II. 571. Burnet, 793. St. Pierre, 66. Jas. Stanhope, App. 7. Cunningham, II. 5. Coxe, I. 209, 291. Limiers, VIII. 80. Larrey, III. 293-4. Lamberty, IV. 157, *et seq.* Lett. Hist. XXIX. 614-618. Quincy, V. 221-3, 232-3. Berwick, I. 294-5. Targe, IV. 382-4. St. Simon, V. 90-3. Tessé, II. 222-8. Millot, II. 385-9. Campbell, III. 260-7; IV. 227-9. Tindal, XVI. 276. Hamilton, II. 15.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE MARCH TO MADRID.

As early as December Galway, seeing that most of the French troops had marched into Arragon to join Tessé, had suggested to King Pedro that the Portuguese should at once advance into Spain and go straight to Madrid. Of this proposal he informed the English ministers, and Secretary Hedges replied that the Queen was "extremely satisfied" with it, adding that he had written to Peterborough in order that he might co-operate. But the Portuguese Court being unprepared for so bold a step, Galway had to content himself with inducing them to take the field early and resolving to cause them to proceed as far as possible in the direction of the Spanish capital. At this time the English general was held in great estimation by Pedro, who bestowed on him the highest rank in the Portuguese service, that of Governor of Arms; and although Das Minas was still commander-in-chief of the Allied army in Portugal, Galway was looked upon as its director. The position was one of much difficulty, demanding (on the one hand) considerable tact in his dealings with the proud Portuguese generals, and resulting (on the other

hand) in his being held by people at home as responsible for the doings of an army which he did not command.

In March, 1706, owing to his representations, backed as they were by the energetic action of Methuen, the Portuguese ministers and generals consented to the project of commencing the campaign by entering Estremadura, besieging and capturing Alcantara, and advancing to Coria and Placentia. The Allies were then encamped at Elvas, preparatory to taking the field; and the English force mustered 200 horse, 2,000 foot and ten field-pieces.[1] Under Galway were O'Hara, Harvey, Floyd and Brudenell; the quartermaster-general was Colonel Du Bourgay; the chief engineer was Carles; and the commander of the train, Borgard, who had recovered from the severe wound he had received at Valenza. The Dutch, who had four squadrons and four battalions, numbering 2,000 men, were commanded by Major-General Frisheim and Brigadier-General Count Dohna. The Portuguese brought 3,600 horse, 11,100 foot, eight light guns and twenty-four heavy ones. Their general officers comprised Corsana, St. Vincente, Soura, D'Atayda, Frontreira, D'Attalaya, Manuel, O'Farrell, Montandre and Mascarenas (commanding the artillery). The whole army assembled under Das Minas was composed of forty-two squadrons, thirty-five battalions, thirteen field-guns and a siege train; and its total strength amounted to 19,000 men.

To command the Bourbon army on the side of Portugal, the Duc de Berwick (now a marshal of France) had again been sent to Spain. His force in Estremadura was forty-five squadrons and twenty-seven

[1] The English troops were Harvey's Horse, with Portmore's, Stewart's, Blood's, Wade's (late Duncanson's) and Brudenell's Foot.

battalions, numbering 15,300 men, who were all Spanish. After posting eight of his battalions in Badajoz, and eleven in other fortresses, he encamped at Talavera, where he was soon joined by Major-Generals Fiennes and Geoffreville, who brought with them thirteen squadrons. He then sent his remaining eight battalions to Alcantara to reinforce the two already in garrison there; and having thus (with questionable wisdom) denuded himself of his foot, he encamped with 4,000 horse at Brocas, twelve miles from the last-named fortress.

On March 31st the Allies left Elvas; and on hearing that Berwick was at Brocas, they resolved to attack him. On April 8th, on the arrival of their horse before that post, the French marshal immediately retired with his main body, leaving a rear-guard under Fiennes, who was charged by the Portuguese squadrons led by Das Minas and Galway. At first Fiennes held his ground; but after a short combat he retreated in disorder, with a loss of 100 killed and prisoners, amongst the latter being Major-General Monroy. On the side of the Allies, Lieutenant-General De St. Vincente was killed, together with thirty troopers. The castle of Brocas was supplied with a detachment of 400 Portuguese, and the Allies continued their march to Alcantara, whilst Berwick retreated to Arroyo del Puerco, nearly twenty miles distant.

Alcantara is situated at the junction of the Tagus and the Alagon. It was a fortress of large size with a good escarp flanked by bastions. The governor was Major-General de Guasco; the garrison, numbering ten battalions of Spanish regulars (including one of the Guards) amounted to fully 4,000 men; and the place was well provided with artillery and victuals.

On the 10th the outlying convent of St. Francis was assaulted by Blood's and Wade's regiments. Overcoming a brave resistance they drove out the Spaniards; yet in so doing they lost fifty killed or wounded, among the latter being Colonels Wade and D'Harcourt. Shortly afterwards, whilst reconnoitring, Lieutenant-General D'Attalaya was killed.

Under the direction of Carles the place was invested on the left bank of the Tagus; trenches were opened; and a battery for thirteen guns was commenced. Next day Guasco made a sortie against St. Francis and expelled a portion of the Portuguese guard; but Mello's regiment held their ground, and the English supports coming up, the enemy were repulsed. On the morning of the 13th the artillery opened fire, and began to breach the escarp. The same day Frontreira, with six battalions and some horse, crossed the Tagus and the Alagon on bridges of boats, and completed the investment of the fortress. Guasco then desired to capitulate with the honours of war; but this was refused, and another battery was constructed across the river, whence the interior of the town could be swept. The breach was soon ready for assault, and the governor was again summoned. Thereupon he consented to surrender with his garrison as prisoners of war; and on the 14th he signed articles of capitulation, in which it was conceded by the Allies that, at the end of six months, the Spanish captains and all officers of higher rank would be allowed to rejoin their army.

In the fortress were found seventy guns and mortars, 5,000 muskets, a great quantity of ammunition, 200 horses, 22,000 pounds of corn, 200 pipes of wine, 150 pipes of oil, and 12,000 new suits of clothing. The capture of Alcantara was one of the most important successes gained by the Allies during the war; for,

besides the stronghold and its stores, 4,000 effective troops were severed from the Bourbon army. On the Austrian side the casualties were few, but the gallant Borgard was again wounded; whilst Lieutenant-Colonel Mauclere, the engineer who had commanded the train at Albuquerque and Badajoz, was killed.

On the 19th Frontreira and Soura advanced against Moraleja. The garrison of 400 regulars and militia defended the place well for two days and then yielded themselves prisoners. Next day, having crossed the Tagus, the main body of the Allies proceeded towards Coria, a walled town on the Alagon; and on the 23rd this place, with 300 troops and large supplies of corn, surrendered to an advanced detachment under D'Atayda. Meanwhile Berwick, having crossed the river at Canaveral, marched in a line parallel with the Allies; and having drawn eight battalions and twelve guns out of Badajoz, sent them to hold the bridge of Almaraz, where the road to Madrid crosses the Tagus. On the 24th Das Minas and Galway reached Coria, whilst the French marshal encamped at Placentia. At the former place the people of the country came in to submit; and as the district abounded in wine, oil and cattle, the soldiers were well provided for.

Two days afterwards the army continued its march to Placentia; and on the 28th, Berwick having (as usual) retired, they occupied that important though weakly defended town. Here they ground corn, erected ovens and formed magazines. The bishop, corregidor and leading citizens had left the place with Berwick, who now posted himself strongly at Massagona on the Tietar, twelve miles distant, where he threw up earthworks commanding the fords. It was at Placentia that the chief difficulties of the English general, in connection

with the Portuguese, commenced. For besides deeming that he had come quite far enough from home, Das Minas was anxious as to the result of Tessé's siege of Barcelona, then in progress. Nevertheless he agreed to attack Berwick, and to hold the bridge of Almaraz.

On May 1st the Allied van arrived at Massagona; but the Bourbon leader, with his main body, at once retreated to Casa Tejada, leaving Geoffreville with a strong force of foot and dragoons to cover his retreat. Gallantly fording the Tietar under a heavy fire, the Portuguese stormed the intrenchments, drove out the enemy and pursued them for a considerable distance. On the 3rd the Allies reached Casa Tejada; and next day they arrived at the bridge of Almaraz. On their approach Berwick tamely abandoned both these posts, and retired to La Percelada, twelve miles distant. But now Das Minas firmly refused to enter Castille; though as a compromise he consented to besiege either Badajoz or Ciudad Rodrigo. Finding him and his generals immovable as regards advancing to Madrid, Galway induced them to select Ciudad Rodrigo; for that place was much nearer than Badajoz to the capital. He also prevailed on Das Minas to agree that, after capturing it, if they should learn that the siege of Barcelona had been raised, they should at once march on Madrid.

On the 11th they directed their course to Ciudad Rodrigo, and on the 20th (after crossing the Sierra de Gate and the Agueda) encamped at a distance of two miles from the town. Next day they invested the place, which was enclosed by a wall of little strength and defended by 400 regulars with 3,000 militia under a Spanish governor. The suburbs were occupied by Manuel with four battalions; and Carles erected a breaching work of twelve guns. For forty-eight

hours the wall was battered; and on the 26th the governor agreed to surrender with the honours of war, which however were lessened by the conditions that the militia were not again to bear arms against the Austrians, and that the regulars were to cease doing so for six months. Berwick had been at St. Martin del Rio, and hearing of the loss of Ciudad Rodrigo, he at once fell back on Salamanca. His strategy in thus perpetually retreating before the Allies, without attempting to harass them or to interfere with their communications, seems open to grave criticism.

Galway had maintained constant correspondence with Methuen at Lisbon, and both of them had reason to apprehend that, even if Tessé retired from before Barcelona, Das Minas and his generals would probably find some pretext for not proceeding to Madrid. Hence by dint of persistent and energetic remonstrances to King Pedro, accompanied by threats of withdrawing the English troops altogether from Portugal, the ambassador obliged the Portuguese ministers to send Das Minas peremptory orders to act on all occasions in concert with Galway. On the 27th the news of the defeat of Tessé reached the Austrian camp, and accordingly preparations were made for an immediate advance on the capital. On June 3rd, after collecting twenty-four days' provisions, Galway commenced his march; and on the 7th he reached Salamanca, a city of some importance, containing much corn; but no resistance was offered, and the authorities formally submitted to King Charles. A Portuguese force was then detached against Alba de Tormes, which capitulated, and a garrison was left in its castle.

At this time Berwick was at the pass of Guadarama; and on the 12th the Allies moved against him. On the 17th they encamped at Villa Carteri, where

deputies from Segovia in Old Castille came in to make submission, and a party of 100 men was placed in its castle. At Villa Carteri, Galway obtained supplies, constructed ovens, and left a guard of 400 men. Next day he reached Epinal, where he was met by delegates from the Escurial; and here he also received the cheering news of the victory at Ramilies. On the 23rd he crossed the Sierra de Guadarama; but Berwick had retired to Madrid, where on the 6th, having quickly re-entered Spain through Navarre, King Philip had arrived from Tessé's broken army in Rousillon.

On the 20th (by the advice of Berwick) the Queen, the Court and all the public tribunals and officials left the capital and proceeded to Burgos, the chief city of Old Castille, where the seat of the Bourbon government was temporarily established; but Philip himself, with 3,300 Spanish foot, joined the French marshal, whose strength (with the battalions he had recalled from Almaraz) was now 3,600 horse and 5,900 foot. On the 22nd he left Madrid and encamped at Torrejon to the eastward; and the same day he was joined by Las Torres with 4,300 men from Valencia. He was thus at the head of an army consisting of 13,800 Spanish troops. But though his force, in number, was practically equal to that of the Allies—who from casualties, sickness, detachments for garrisons and (above all) Portuguese desertions, had dwindled to 14,000 men —and in quality was certainly superior, yet he made no effort to resist their progress; and on the 25th he retreated to Alcala on the Henares, eighteen miles distant.

On the 24th Galway reached Nuestra Senora de Ratamal, and thence sent forward a strong party to occupy Madrid. Next day the Alguazil Mayor, with three other officials, arrived at the Austrian camp, and

formally tendered the allegiance of the capital. The nobles and gentlemen who had remained there, either came in person to the Allied commanders, or sent assurances of fidelity to the Austrian cause; and on the 27th, the troops having encamped at the Pardo on the the Mansenares, Galway and Das Minas entered Madrid. On July 2nd, after delays caused on various pretexts by the corregidor and his subordinates (who, with the population generally, were firm Bourbons), Charles III. was solemnly proclaimed King of Spain.

At every stage of this long march Galway was obliged to exert all his influence with Das Minas to keep him, not only from swerving aside, but even from turning right round, in search of plunder. It was only by a singular mixture of address, conciliation and firmness that he managed to lead the Portuguese militia (for they were no better) and their booty-loving generals, through 400 miles of hostile country, to the very centre of Spain. Personally he was infirm from age and gout; his right arm had been recently torn off by a cannon-shot, and he had to be lifted on horseback like a child. Although a Protestant of a rigid type, yet he had to humour bigoted Roman Catholics; whilst as a Huguenot exile his authority, even over his own troops, was not the same as that of a native English general. Nevertheless, as the actual issue of a three months' campaign, he had driven Berwick, like chaff before the wind, from the Guadiana to the Henares; had wrested from him 8,000 Spanish troops and 100 pieces of artillery (besides an immense amount of ammunition and provisions); had reduced the fortresses of Alcantara and Ciudad Rodrigo, together with the provinces of Estremadura, Leon and Old Castille; and lastly, had taken possession of the capital itself.

On June 24th the Allied generals had received de-

spatches from Charles stating that he was at Barcelona, but that Peterborough with most of the foot had gone by sea to Valencia to prepare for his march by that route to Madrid. On his arrival at the capital Galway sent several expresses both to the King and to Peterborough, urging them to advance with all speed.

At this time many important towns of New Castille sent in their submission, and among them was Toledo. At this city the Queen-Dowager Maria and Cardinal Porto Carrero were then residing, together with several other influential Austrian adherents. Owing to various causes Porto Carrero had long ceased to be prime minister, and having become a malcontent had joined the party of Queen Maria, and was now as zealous for the Austrians as formerly he had been for the Bourbons. To congratulate the Queen on the success of her cause, the Allied commanders despatched the Count D'Atayda to her Court; yet the people of Madrid, and the Castilians generally, were by no means favourably inclined to their conquerors. Since the peace of Ryswick (as already stated) they had evinced far more regard for French than for German interests; and the spectacle of their beloved capital in the hands of an army of Portuguese (for whom they cherished a traditional dislike), assisted by a contingent of heretics, was not calculated to estrange them from the Bourbons. At present they took no active measures to manifest their feelings; but being encouraged by the small number of the army resting on the Mansenares, they patiently awaited a change of fortune. It was known that Berwick was expecting reinforcements from France, and when these should arrive, the aspect of affairs would doubtless be altered.

Meanwhile the Allies received no further letters from King Charles, nor did they know whether he

had actually set out for Madrid, and there were no rumours afloat to this effect. On his arrival Galway had been engaged in establishing the civil government of Spain, and in arranging state affairs in the Austrian interests; but after remaining a week without hearing from Barcelona or Valencia, he began to be anxious. On July 7th he sent a captain with a detachment of thirty horse into Valencia, to endeavour to meet the King and to urge him to press forward. Owing to the enmity of the country this officer lost most of his men on the march; yet eventually he reached Charles in Catalonia.

On the 9th Galway detached a considerable force to Puente de los Viveros on the Xarama, in the direction of Berwick, who had retreated still further up the Henares, and was then at Guadalaxara, thirty-five miles north-east of Madrid. On this becoming known, the detachment was pushed on to Alcala, and on the 11th (after a stay of fourteen days in Madrid) Galway himself, with the whole Allied army, arrived there. For having completed his administrative duties, the English general deemed it advisable to occupy a position in advance of the capital, where he would be more advantageously situated to oppose the Bourbons when the French troops should have reached them. At Alcala he stored grain and formed magazines; and on the 15th, hearing that Berwick had fallen eighteen miles farther back and was then at Xidrueque, he advanced to Guadalaxara, where, on the left bank of the Henares, was an excellent defensive position. The place was also healthy, and the country abounded in food and forage; here, therefore, the Austrian leader established his camp.

On receipt of the news of the retreat of Tessé from before Barcelona, King Louis had ordered Légal, with

2,300 horse and 9,000 foot, to march through Navarre to reinforce Berwick; and on the 28th these troops arrived at Xidrueque. The marshal had now an army of seventy-four squadrons and fifty-three battalions, numbering in all 25,100 men, of whom nearly one-half were French. His rear-guard under Fiennes was strongly posted at Xadraque on the Henares, four miles distant.

On the 15th Galway had received his first news of Charles, who was coming to Madrid by way of Arragon, instead of through Valencia, and had already arrived at Saragossa. Hence on the 16th he despatched Du Bourgay (the quartermaster-general) with a detachment of horse to that city, to inform the King of his position. On the 26th, hearing that Charles expected shortly to arrive at Molina, the English general, in order to cover the King's journey to the utmost, resolved to advance still nearer Berwick, and accordingly pushed forward to Sopetran. Here he ascertained that Fiennes was at Xadraque, and held the bridge which spanned the Henares. At midnight on the 28th he advanced from Sopetran, hoping to surprise the French general; but Fiennes was prepared and vigilant. He held a formidable position on the steep right bank of the river, whence his guns commanded the approaches; and an attempt made by Galway with six squadrons and two battalions to seize the bridge was repulsed. An artillery engagement across the Henares then commenced, and for two days the hostile forces cannonaded each other, yet without much loss to either side.

On the 30th Galway ascertained that Berwick's reinforcements had arrived; and as at this time his own army did not exceed 12,000 men, he deemed it advisable to retire. The same night he began his march,

and on August 1st regained his strong position at Guadalaxara. Berwick then advanced with his whole force along the other bank of the Henares; but the position taken up by the English general was so strong that the French marshal did not venture to attack it. He therefore confined himself to encamping on the opposite side of the river and watching the Allies therefrom.

Meanwhile the prolonged absence of King Charles had revived the hopes of the Castilians. Segovia and other places in Old Castille returned to their former allegiance, whilst armed peasants sprang up along the Austrian communications and cut off their intercourse with Portugal. The example of the northern province was soon followed by Leon and New Castille; and it was not long before Toledo and Salamanca openly proclaimed King Philip. Reports were circulated that Charles was dead; four priests in as many places in Castille swore that they had seen his body embalmed; and as soon as Légal joined Berwick, the door to the throne, which had been opened by Galway and Das Minas, was again completely closed.[1]

[1] State, Spain [1700-13], 134; Ireland, King's letters [1702-11], 3; Ordnance Minutes [1705], LXXVII. 302. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXV. 136; XXXI. 142. Add. Coll., Godolphin, 28056, f. 369, 377-387, 394; 28057, 9, 13, 30, 59, 61, 63, 69, 79, 113, 194, 214, 216, 243: Ordnance, 5795, f. 287-290: Autograph, 28103, f. 95: Leake, 5441, f. 150: Strafford, 31134, f. 341. Lond. Gaz., July 11-15, 1706. Boyer, V. 272-300; IX. App. 98-104, 130-2. Impartial Hist., 57-59, 64, 69-72, 111, 114-115, 183. St. Pierre, 66-72, 81. Burnet, 791-3. Jas. Stanhope, App. 10, 24. Murray, II. 416; III. 1. Coxe, I. 462. Duncan, I. 93-94. Quincy, V. 224-241, 309. Berwick, I. 265, 277-284, 288-317. St. Simon, V. 94-96. Larrey, III. 320-2. Millot, II. 389-393. Lett. Hist., XXX. 225-6. Targe, IV. 400-6.

CHAPTER XX.

The King's Junction with Galway.

On May 18th, six days after Tessé's retreat, a grand conference of ministers, generals and admirals, was held at Barcelona (in the presence of Charles) to arrange the operations for the ensuing campaign. At this meeting it was stated by Peterborough that, during his two months' residence in Valencia, he had established depôts, collected transport and made all necessary preparations for a march to Madrid; and as the route through Valencia formed the most convenient method of reaching the capital, the King resolved to proceed that way. Accordingly it was decided that whilst 900 horse should march to Valencia by land, 2,800 foot should be transported there by sea; and these troops would then join those (under Gorges) already in the province, numbering 800 horse and 3,400 foot. Thus the total force to be concentrated there, to accompany Charles and Peterborough to Madrid, would be nearly 8,000 men, added to whom there would be a train of fourteen field-pieces, four half-cannon (24-pounders) and two mortars.

As regards the remainder of the Allied troops, it was determined that 2,650 should be quartered at Barcelona, 3,100 at Gerona, 850 at Lerida, and 500

at Tortosa.[1] In the above numbers were comprised many regiments of Spanish horse and foot that had been lately raised in Barcelona and Catalonia. In all, these Austro-Spanish regulars amounted to no less than 2,000 horse and 5,200 foot; for to this extent (besides the army of 8,000 to 10,000 miquelets commanded by Cifuentes) had the affection of the people for Prince George and the Austrian cause shown itself during the eight months that had elapsed since he had landed at Mataro. On the 28th Wyndham and the troops destined for Madrid, accompanied by Peterborough, embarked on board the fleet, and on June 4th arrived at the Grao, near which port an encampment was formed.

But it was not many days afterwards before it was discovered that money was wholly wanting, no transport was to be had, no supplies had been accumulated, and, practically, everything necessary for a march to Madrid had yet to be provided. In the middle of June, being pressed by a letter from Charles to state explicitly what preparations had actually been made for the campaign, Peterborough was obliged to admit that an advance through Valencia was totally impracticable. In order to render it still more so, he proceeded to divide his troops into four bodies, and to disperse them in various directions. Wyndham, with three regiments of foot and one of dragoons, was detached to besiege the small fortresses of Requena and Cuenca in New Castille; Gorges, with four of foot and one of horse, to operate against Alicant; Colonel Alnutt, with one

[1] The only English regiments not at present sent to Valencia were the Marines and Breton's, which remained in Barcelona; and the Royal Fusiliers and Hamilton's, which proceeded to Gerona. But later on, Breton's and Hamilton's joined the bulk of the English at Valencia, whilst the other two corps were moved to Lerida.

of foot and a detachment of dragoons, to invade Murcia; and the remainder, consisting of three of foot and two of dragoons, were retained under Killigrew at Valencia.[1]

By July 4th, at latest, Peterborough was aware that Galway had arrived at Madrid, and was in urgent need of succour; and during his stay in Valencia he received three separate letters from Galway to that effect. Yet he made no attempt to relieve him till the 26th, when he received positive orders from Charles at Saragossa (dated the 20th) to proceed at once to Guadalaxara with all his available forces. Accordingly he marched in that direction; but the troops he took with him consisted only of 400 dragoons. He joined Charles on August 5th, and reached Galway's camp next day.

On the 10th, at his own solicitation, but with the approval of the King and the unanimous sanction of a council of Allied ministers and generals (all anxious for his absence), he returned with eighty dragoons to Valencia to take ship for Genoa, ostensibly in order to negotiate loans with the bankers for the subsistence of the Allied troops, but in reality to obtain recreation and to visit the Duke of Savoy.[2] He sailed about Sep-

[1] In these bodies, the following was the distribution of the English regiments:—Under Wyndham;—the Guards, Dungannon's and Toby Caulfield's Foot, and Pearce's Dragoons (late Barrymore's Foot): Under Gorges;—Gorges's (late Donegal's), Allen's (late Gorges's), Mountjoy's and Mohun's: Under Alnutt;—Allnutt's (late Charlemont's) Foot, and a detachment of Killigrew's (late Conyngham's) Dragoons: And under Killigrew;—Southwell's (late Rivers's) Foot, the Royal Dragoons and Killigrew's Dragoons. As regards the colonelcy of Alnutt's, it may be mentioned that since the gallant conduct of Charlemont at the assault of Montjuic, Peterborough had borne much animosity against that general, and shortly afterwards (by means of a shabby subterfuge) had managed to deprive him of his regiment.

[2] Considering that at this time Berwick was immediately in front

tember 15th, and (fortunately for the Allies) his career in Spain was brought to an end. For though he returned on January 6th, 1707, and took part in some councils held in Valencia, yet he was necessarily superseded by Galway (the senior general) in the command of the English troops. However his whole conduct in Spain had greatly disgusted Marlborough and the English ministers (although they were of his own political party); and his formal recall to England arrived on February 22nd; hence in the course of the following month he finally left the country.[1]

On the side of Arragon, Prince Henry, who was still governor of Lerida, had early in June captured Balbastro; and the Arragonese were manifesting an inclination to join the Austrian cause. On the 13th Count Noyelles, the new general of King Charles, having received intimation that Saragossa (the capital of Arragon)

of the Allies, this voluntary act of departure was nothing less than desertion from the army in the face of the enemy, the most heinous of all military crimes.

[1] On his return to England, Peterborough was called upon to answer serious charges of disobedience that were brought against him by King Charles through the Imperial ambassador, and also to account for large sums of public money entrusted to his care which had been improperly expended. Being unable to give the necessary explanations (and from the statements in the diary of his agent there is little doubt that part of this money was embezzled), he remained in disgrace (a portion of his estate being sequestered) until the change of ministry in 1710. In the meantime, through the medium of his physician, Dr. Freind, he published a grossly false account of the war in Spain, in which he posed as the hero of Montjuic, the captor and reliever of Barcelona and the conqueror of Valencia, whilst he described himself as the subject of much ill-usage at the hands of King Charles, Galway and Godolphin. On coming into power the Tories, for political purposes, utilized his impostures and demerits; but they took care not to entrust him with another military command. In 1714, on the accession of George I., he sank into oblivion, and there remained until his death, which occurred in 1735, at the age of seventy-seven. [It may be added that Eliot Warburton's memoir of this peer, published in 1853, is a tissue of ludicrous invention.]

was ready to submit, had joined Prince Henry; and, at the head of 500 Spanish horse and 2,500 Dutch and Spanish foot, the two commanders had marched to that city. On their appearance, the magistrates gave up their keys; and soon afterwards, mainly owing to the efforts of Prince Henry, the greater part of this large province was won over to the Austrian interest. Despatches were sent to Charles stating that the people of Saragossa were anxious for his presence, in order that they might formally tender him the fealty of the ancient kingdom of Arragon. Moreover they agreed to pay all the expenses of his journey to Madrid, if he should proceed by the road through their city.

However on June 23rd Charles left Barcelona with the intention of fulfilling his engagement with Peterborough to proceed by Valencia; but a few days afterwards (near Villa Franca) he received intimation from that commander that the journey by that side was impossible. Hence on the 29th he summoned a council, at which were present Lichtenstein, Uhlfeldt, Cifuentes, D'Assumar and Stanhope. The first three advocated the adoption of the Arragon route; but the two ambassadors, deeming that the difficulties of the course through Valencia might be surmounted, and that the delay caused by passing through Saragossa would be too great, strongly urged the original plan. Nevertheless the King agreed with the majority, and leaving Uhlfeldt as viceroy of Catalonia, set out for Lerida, which he reached on July 8th. Thence he proceeded to Saragossa, where he arrived on the 15th and was gladly welcomed by the citizens.

On the 20th Du Bourgay came in from Galway; and on the 24th, preceded by Prince Henry who with a strong detachment cleared the passes as far as the Castilian frontier, the King left Saragossa, and passing

through Daroca and Molina, arrived on August 6th at the Allied camp at Guadalaxara. With him, under the command of Noyelles, he brought two regiments of Spanish horse, a troop of Spanish dragoons, two battalions of Dutch foot and one of Neapolitans, numbering in all 2,000 men; and two days afterwards Major-General Pedro Moras arrived from Valencia with 800 of Ahumada's and Colberg's Spaniards. By these reinforcements (with the dragoons left by Peterborough) the army under Galway was raised to a strength of 15,000 men.

Meanwhile, though commanding a greatly superior force, Berwick had declined to attack Galway, and (in lieu) had sent Légal with 3,000 horse and foot to occupy Alcala. By this means the Austrian communications with Madrid were cut off; and 400 Portuguese, engaged in bringing away the sick from the Allied hospital, were surprised and taken prisoners. On the 4th Lieutenant-General De Vallée with 800 horse entered Madrid, and the Bourbon troops were received with much rejoicing. Philip V. was then formally re-proclaimed, whilst the portrait, standards and public acts of King Charles were publicly burnt. At this time there were in the city 370 Austro-Spaniards, who, under the Count De Las Amajuelas, were being formed into a regiment for Charles. They threw themselves into the palace and for two days resisted bravely, but being starved out, were obliged to surrender at discretion. They were treated with great severity; and most of them were either secretly executed or sent to the galleys; for in his dealings with those who fell into his hands Berwick never erred on the side of leniency. At the same time the pontoons of the Allies and a portion of their baggage that had been left in Madrid were also captured.

The country around the capital now returned to the Bourbon allegiance ; at Segovia, the armed inhabitants attacked the Portuguese garrison, and forced them to surrender ; and at Salamanca, the citizens detained and plundered a large convoy sent from Portugal to support the Austrians. On hearing of the latter event, the Portuguese general Fonte Arcada, governor of Ciudad Rodrigo, promptly collecting a strong detachment, advanced against Salamanca and after a two days' blockade took possession of it. He caused the people not only to restore their plunder, but also to pay a fine of 50,000 pistoles and to deliver up their arms and ammunition.[1]

[1] Treasury [1710], CXII. 29 ; CXIII. 19, 29, 30. State, Spain [1700-13], 133, 134. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXV. 136. Egerton Coll., Galway, 891, f. 1. Add. Coll., Leake, 5438, f. 31 ; 5441, f. 128-146, 156-160 ; 5442, 116-122 : Godolphin, 28057, f. 25, 91, 93, 105, 150, 154, 190, 235, 247, 264, 265, 276, 278, 282-296, 300, 302, 307, 324 ; 28058, f. 14 : Halifax, 7121, f. 41 : Strafford, 31134, f. 301, 313, 328, 341, 350, 365, 369 : Hatton Finch, 29589, f. 447, 449. Lond. Gaz., June 24-27, July 15-22, Aug. 15-19, 26-29, Oct. 31-Nov. 4, 1706 ; April 17-21, 1707. Boyer, V. 295-6, 300, 304, App. 103-4, 128, 130-1 ; VI. 220-1, 296, 314 ; IX. 277, 288-298, App. 125 ; X. 68-70, 77, 120, 216. Hist. MSS. Comm. VIII. 18, 27, 43, 50 ; IX. 468. Calendars [1707], CII. 58 ; [1708-14], CXIII. 42. Impartial Hist. 81-83, 119-179, 196, 210, 219-231. St. Pierre, 69-73. Rieutort, 61, 97, 103, 110, 111. Eyewitness, 11. Hare's Allies and the late Ministry [1712], 17. Burnet, 793-4, 820, 859-61. Freind, 36-56, 61-68, 78-86, 88, 100, 104, 118, 133, 137, 141, 232. Peterborough, May 30-Oct. 17, 1706 ; Jan.-July, 1707. Jas. Stanhope, 9-28. Murray, II. 571, 594, 605, 704 ; III. 125, 177, 372 ; V. 630. Coxe, I. 468-473 ; II. 78-82, 102-108, 117, 124, 130-3, 136, 138-9, 149, 177-188. Cunningham, II. 5-14, 345-6, 358, 360, 388-9. Luttrell, VI. 37, 61, 67, 181, 256-265, 661, 674, 676-7. Quincy, V. 240-2. Larrey, III. 322. Lett. Hist. XXX. 325-6. Lamberty, IV. 153-4 ; VI. 638. Targe, IV. 412-413. Berwick, I. 318-322. Millot, II. 393-4. Tindal, XVI. 281, 290. Hamilton, II. 17. Cartwright [Wentworth Papers] 170-3, 177-9. Stephen Leake, 413. Agnew, 155. Campbell, III. 277-8. Jesse, II. 184-209.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Capture of Alicant.

On May 24th, at a naval council held at Barcelona, it had been agreed that after the troops had landed at the Grao the fleet under Leake should proceed before Alicant, which fortress, it was hoped, would surrender. Accordingly on June 11th the admiral set sail, but on the 15th, whilst off Altea, some Spanish gentlemen came on board and informed him that Carthagena in Murcia was well inclined, and on the appearance of the ships would probably submit. He resolved therefore first to visit that port, and on the way was met by two Bourbon galleys from Carthagena destined for Oran commanded by the Count de Santa Cruz, who declared for King Charles and accompanied the fleet.

Arriving off Carthagena on the 23rd, Leake summoned the governor, who declined to give a definite reply till the expiration of twenty-four hours. The admiral therefore prepared to attack the place, and for this purpose selected ten ships, which he placed under Rear-Admiral Sir John Jennings.[1] To him he gave orders to cannonade the batteries next morning should no answer be received by that time, and to land 1,000

[1] This was the officer who, in command of the "St. George," had distinguished himself at the battle of Malaga.

marines. On the following day Jennings was about to execute these instructions, and the boats were pulling for the shore, when the governor sent in his submission. Santa Cruz then assumed the administration for Charles, and 600 English marines under Major Hedges were landed as a garrison. The place possessed an excellent harbour, but its fortifications were by no means strong.

Leaving Jennings with four ships to concert measures with Santa Cruz and Hedges for the defence and armament of the town, Leake sailed for Alicant. On his way he received word that a land force under Gorges was advancing to assist him in the operations; and on the 7th he arrived off the port. It was one of good capacity, and at the bottom lay the town, which was dominated by a strong castle on a rocky hill. Landward the place was defended by an irregular cordon of walls and defensible houses (beyond which the suburbs formed a sort of weak outwork), and seaward, by a line of old masonry. Mahoni (now a major-general) was the governor; the garrison consisted of 300 of his own dragoons, 200 Neapolitan foot and 1,500 militia, and the fortress was well furnished with provisions and artillery.

Mahoni having declined the admiral's summons, the place was invested by a body of 2,000 miquelets under a leader named Seorcia, who had arrived to co-operate with the fleet; but before commencing the attack, the admiral awaited the coming of the Allied troops. On the 15th he landed 400 marines to assist Seorcia; and five days later Gorges, having left his men encamped at Elche, came on board to confer. It was resolved to make a joint attack on the place by sea and land; and on the 22nd Leake disembarked 400 more marines, 500 seamen, and a detachment of artificers, together with the necessary guns and siege *matériel*.

Jennings and the marines were also recalled from Carthagena, where Alnutt's detachment had now arrived.

On August 1st the force from Elche encamped before the place. It consisted of 1,300 English foot and 200 Spanish horse. Among the English troops, Mohun's regiment was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac Petit, who was a Queen's engineer (though not recently employed as such), and the only one present. Under his direction a work for six guns was erected and a few approaches were pushed forward.

On the 2nd, with seven English and three Dutch ships, Byng anchored in line before the town and began to batter the old sea-wall. During the six following days he continued the cannonade, and by the end of that time had made two breaches. The few pieces along the ramparts had been quickly dismounted; and afterwards Mahoni maintained a fire on the ships (though not effectively) from the castle.

On the 4th Jennings arrived from Carthagena with the 600 marines, and Leake formally commissioned him as a general officer to command them and the seamen ashore, the latter being formed into a battalion with Captain Littleton as colonel. At this time the siege army numbered 3,400 land and sea troops, of whom 1,900 were under Jennings, and 1,500 under Gorges; and in addition there were Seorcia's 2,000 miquelets. The same night Gorges assaulted a windmill forming one of the Bourbon advanced posts, and captured it with a loss of fifty-five men. But next day Mahoni brought two guns to bear on the building and rendered it untenable. On the 6th, having completed his works, Petit demolished a portion of the suburbs, which on the 8th Gorges assailed and carried.

One of the rents made by the ships was in an

old tower at the western angle; and since it was on this side that the land attack was being conducted, the breach was open to a storm both by the troops on shore and by sailors in boats from the fleet. Accordingly the same day a simultaneous military and naval attempt was made on it. At first the grenadiers, under Major Rapin of Mohun's, were repulsed; but at that moment Captain Evans arrived with the boats of the "Royal Oak," and renewed the assault. He was closely followed by Captain Passenger of the "Royal Anne" and Captain Watkins of the "St. George," with their respective crews; Jennings himself, with the supports, bringing up the rear. The enemy made but slight resistance; the work was captured, and the whole town was soon in the hands of the seamen, who unbarred the gates and let in the soldiers; whilst Mahoni and the garrison retreated into the castle. Very few men were lost in the engagement; but as he was standing in the suburbs reconnoitring, Isaac Petit was killed by a shot from an adjacent window. During the seven days' land and sea operations the Allied casualties were thirty killed and eighty-five wounded.

The ships now began to play on the castle, though (on account of its high elevation) not successfully; but the ceaseless shelling of the mortar-vessels was more efficient, for at this time the place was destitute of bomb-proofs. On the 20th Gorges opened fire against it from the land side, but without causing much injury; and the cannonading continued for nearly a month, yet no breach could be made. However the incessant bombarding had killed or wounded many of the defenders, and on September 2nd the Neapolitans having lost heart deliberately poisoned the water in the castle well, and thus obliged the gallant Mahoni to make terms. On the 4th it was arranged between him and Gorges that, if in

four days' time they were not relieved, the garrison should surrender with the honours of war. Accordingly on the 8th, no succours having arrived, Mahoni marched out, and on the 11th his men were conveyed in transports to Cadiz.

On the 13th, in accordance with despatches received from England, Leake sent off a squadron of nine ships under Jennings to the West Indies; and the same day, having received intimation from Lichtenstein of Charles's wish that Ivica and Majorca should be reduced, he proceeded to the former island with twenty-six sail of the line. Ivica was very fertile in corn and wine, and its chief town had a safe harbour with a castle. On the 19th, when twenty miles off the port, the admiral sent in advance an Ivican gentleman named Francisco Balancat to prepare the people for the arrival of the fleet; and so well did he effect his object that on the 20th, when Leake arrived off the castle, the garrison saluted him, and the governor came on board to proffer his submission. The admiral remained in the port four days, settling the Austrian government, and then sailed for Majorca.

This larger island was equally productive with Ivica; whilst Palma (its capital) had a good harbour and was fairly fortified, St. Charles's castle being the chief defence. On the 25th the viceroy, being summoned, declared he would hold the place to the last extremity. The admiral then threw in a few shells, whereon the people rose, blockaded the governor in his palace, and sent off the Count de Monne to negotiate with Leake. On the 28th terms of surrender were arranged, and the small French garrison marched out with the honours of war, whilst Captain Lauder landed with 100 marines and occupied the castle. On October 1st, the birthday of Charles, that monarch was proclaimed, and the people

took the oath of allegiance. The castle being furnished with stores, and a new viceroy installed, the admiral returned to the Spanish coast, where he received instructions from England to bring the fleet home, whilst Byng was to be left at Lisbon with the winter squadron.

On the 28th Leake anchored at Spithead, and on presenting himself at Court was very cordially received. The Queen made him a donation of 1,000 guineas, whilst her consort (the Lord High Admiral) presented him with a gold sword and a diamond ring.[1]

[1] State, Spain [1700-13], 133, 134; Dom. Anne [1702-6], V. 87. Ordnance Minutes, LXXVII. 191. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXVIII. 139. Egerton Coll., Historical, 2618, f. 205: Haddock, 2521. Add. Coll., Leake, 5436, f. 46; 5438, f. 34-37, 45, 65, 78-84, 90-95; 5441, f. 128-132, 141, 148, 152, 156, 160, 162, 178, 183, 193-5, 201-7, 231; 5442, f. 64, 142-153, 171: Godolphin, 28057, f. 25, 311: Strafford, 31134, f. 165: Ellis, 28948, f. 150. Lond. Gaz., Aug. 26-29, 1706. Boyer, V., 304-7; VI. 374-5. Impartial Hist., 6, 125-126, 132-133, 170-4, 178-9, 194. Stephen Leake, 216-264, 267, 269, 283. Calendars [1708], CX. 20. Hist. MSS. Comm. V. 349; VIII. 17. Freind, 127-133, 155. Peterborough, 1 *et seq.* Luttrell, VI. 77, 265-6. Cannon, 36th Regt., 13. Coxe, I. 471-2. Quincy, V. 251. Lett. Hist. XXX. 329, 464, 586. Millot, II. 395. Campbell, III., 268-271; IV. 90.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Retreat from Madrid.

On August 11th, having consumed his supplies at Guadalaxara, Galway, accompanied by Charles and the Court, decamped therefrom, and marched to Chinchon, a town on the Tajuna, twenty miles south of Madrid, situated in a very plentiful district. The communications of the Allies with Portugal having been broken, their new base was necessarily the Valencian coast and the fleet. Hence, in moving to Chinchon, they were taking the first step to secure this fresh line of operations, in which (as already mentioned) Wyndham, with a large detachment, was already acting from Valencia. On the 14th they encamped in a strong position, with their right on the Tajuna, near its junction with the Xarama, and their left towards Colmenar on the Tagus. During their stay at Guadalaxara much desertion had occurred; and their numbers at this time did not exceed 14,000 men. On the Bourbon side, Berwick on the 11th was reinforced by Bay with 1,500 Spanish foot from Estremadura; and his total strength was thus raised to 26,000 good troops, of whom the horse (the strongest arm in those days) were especially efficient.

Besides being very inferior in number, the Allies were composed of five nationalities (Portuguese, Eng-

lish, Dutch, Spanish and Neapolitan), and they were also divided into three distinct and co-equal commands, held respectively by Das Minas, Galway and Noyelles. The last-mentioned general, who had wished to obtain the leadership, was very unfriendly to Galway, and being in great favour with Charles, used all his influence to destroy the English general's credit with that monarch, and to weaken his authority as director of the Austrian army. Nevertheless, by sheer force of military experience, tact and upright dealing, Galway maintained his predominance; and, notwithstanding internal intrigues, the poor quality of the Portuguese, the bitter hostility of the country, and the proximity of Berwick's powerful force, he held his position at Chinchon for nearly a month.

The French marshal, whose want of enterprise at this time was something incredible, had marched parallel with Galway along the Guadarama, and had encamped on that river at Ciempozulos, fifteen miles distant from the Allies. He limited his operations to covering Madrid and Toledo, and to cutting off Austrian detachments and stragglers. For this purpose he had an excellent partisan chief in a young Spanish colonel named Juan de Zereceda. On the 15th, at Huete, that officer attacked a convoy of baggage proceeding from Valencia towards the Allied camp, consisting of sixteen waggons and forty-two laden mules, escorted by 40 horse, 150 foot and two guns, all Spanish. He killed seventy men, and carried away the rest, with the convoy, to Berwick's camp.[1]

At the beginning of September it was evident to Galway and Charles that the idea of re-occupying

[1] It may be mentioned that this baggage, for which so large an escort had been detached, was entirely the personal property of the Earl of Peterborough.

Madrid must be abandoned; and that, since the rainy season was setting in, it would be expedient to commence a retreat into Valencia. Accordingly on the 9th, after a stay of twenty-six days at Chinchon, and with three weeks' provisions in hand, they broke up their camp, and crossing the Tagus at Duennas on raft-bridges, marched leisurely south-eastwards towards Valverde on the Xucar.

On the 17th, at Veles, they were joined by Wyndham, with 1,400 men;[1] and their stores were replenished by a large supply of bread and biscuit which, with much forethought, he had collected. In July he had attacked Requena, a town in Castille with rather a strong castle on a rocky hill. The governor had 600 regulars, and made a good resistance. The few pieces of weak artillery that Wyndham possessed were powerless against the castle; and he was obliged to commence mining. Thereupon the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war; but during the siege Wyndham had lost 150 men. He then proceeded to Cuenca, a much weaker place, which after a short siege capitulated.

Galway now continued his march over the Sierra Molina, after which he passed through a fruitful country, encamping successively at Palamares, Torres, Jonfilos and Cafra; and eventually crossed the Xucar at the bridge of Olibos, near Valverde. Berwick continued his former strategy, advancing continuously with the Allies, but keeping to the westward so as to sever them from Madrid and Portugal, and harassing their rear-guard.

On the morning of the 25th, when, after sixteen days' progress, Galway was pushing towards the bridge of

[1] Wyndham's force consisted of the Guards, Dungannon's and Toby Caulfield's Foot, Pearce's Dragoons, and a detachment of Nebot's Horse.

Valdecana on the Gabriel, Berwick made an unusually audacious effort to reach it before him. But on arrival at Iniesta the marshal found the Austrians faced about, and drawn up in battle order with a rivulet along their front, ready to receive him, O'Hara being in command of the first line. The cautious Frenchman at once drew in his horns; and the same day, continuing his march, Galway crossed the Gabriel in his sight. Being thus foiled, he abandoned his pursuit and turned off into Murcia; whilst on the 28th Galway gained the Valencian frontier. His army was now reduced to 12,000 men, and these he distributed in winter quarters along a defensive line, extending from Requena on the west to Denia on the east. The King, with his ministers and principal generals, took up his residence in Valencia; and thus ended a well-conducted retreat through 200 miles of an enemy's country.[1]

Cuenca had been of little use to the Allies, and on account of its weakness and isolation Galway had wished to abandon it; but at the instance of Noyelles, the King had detached Major-General Ahumada to hold it with a force composed of a Dutch battalion, Colberg's and Ahumada's Spanish foot and a regiment of Neapolitans. On October 8th Berwick sent Lieutenant-General De Hessy with a large body of horse, foot and artillery to besiege the place; and after only two days' resistance Ahumada and his garrison surrendered as prisoners of war.

On the capture of Alicant, Gorges, with Killigrew's Dragoons and a strong column of English foot, had marched to Origuela, and having occupied it, had entered Murcia with the intention (in concert with

[1] During the month of October, Lieutenant-General Hugh Wyndham died at Valencia; and in him the Allies lost one of their ablest commanders.

the troops at Carthagena) of surprising its capital. This province had never, to any material extent, followed the example of Valencia in embracing the Austrian cause. Its bishop was a zealous Bourbon, and being also a good leader of miquelets, had skilfully resisted the inroads of the Valencians, and had even attacked them in their own territory. Early in October, having arrived within eight miles of Murcia city, Gorges learnt that a division of Berwick's army was advancing to cut him off from Alicant. He at once retired; but he imprudently left at Elche a force under Colonel Bowles, consisting of 300 English foot, Killigrew's Dragoons (150 in number) and 900 armed peasants. Elche was a town of little strength, and Bowles had no artillery. On October 21st Geoffreville, with 5,000 men, appeared before the place. For two days Bowles made a resolute defence by musketry; but on the 23rd he was obliged to yield, and his troops became prisoners.

At the same time, the Spanish general Medinilla marched with 2,500 men to attack Origuela. Having been joined by the Bishop of Murcia, he at once delivered an assault. The town was not even defended by a continuous wall; yet before it was taken the Valencian countrymen bravely resisted for some hours, and its capture cost Medinilla 160 officers and men.

Berwick then proceeded against Carthagena, which he invested on November 11th. The governor was Major-General Valero, whose troops consisted of a few Spanish horse and 800 Valencian miquelets, aided by about 2,000 townsmen.[1] The fortifications were of a very irregular nature; for the place was only partially encircled by a wall, and there was no ditch; but the gaps in the defences had been filled

[1] Alnutt's force had left the place and joined Gorges.

up by earthworks, and there was a good armament. Being without a siege train, Berwick attempted an escalade; but his grenadiers were repulsed with much loss. On the 13th he posted some field-pieces on an eminence to batter the wall; these however were quickly silenced. Four days afterwards Lieutenant-General de Rigollot arrived with the heavy guns; and a breach being soon made, the brave Valero and his garrison were forced to capitulate. Berwick then cantoned his army in winter quarters, extending from Cuenca to Origuela.

On the side of Arragon, Prince Henry had successfully maintained his hold of the greater part of that province. In November the French Lieutenant-General De Pons, having advanced from La Mancha to Calimocha (near Daroca), was surprised and routed by a body of Austro-Spaniards under Major-General Sartago, and lost 400 men, whilst Brigadier-General Grafton was taken prisoner. In December, Tzerclaes de Tilly entered the province from Navarre and captured some small places; whilst Salazar gained Exca defended by miquelets. The latter general then relieved Jacca in the north, which had been invested by the Austrians. Meanwhile the city of Saragossa raised a regiment of foot for the service of King Charles.

On the Portuguese frontier matters had not gone well for the Allies. In the autumn Bay[1] returned to Estremadura, where, having collected a large detachment of Spaniards, he suddenly surprised Moraleja and captured the Portuguese garrison. In December, with four battalions and two squadrons, numbering

[1] *The Marquis De Bay* was born in 1650. He was a Frenchman of humble birth, named Alexandre Maître, who had entered the Spanish service and by his merits had gradually risen to his present position.

1,800 men, he secretly marched against Alcantara, and on the night of the 15th boldly stormed it by escalade. The Portuguese defenders, who were hardly less numerous than his own force, were taken completely unawares, and had to submit as prisoners of war.

During this year the Austrian cause had experienced two important losses at Lisbon; for on July 13th the able and zealous ambassador John Methuen had died from an attack of gout; and on December 9th King Pedro, who for a long time had been ailing, followed him to the grave. He was succeeded by his eldest son, a lad of seventeen, who ascended the throne as Juan V.[1]

[1] Lord Egmont's MSS. [1697-1709]. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXV. 136. Egerton Coll., Galway, 891, f. 1, 3. Add. Coll., Strafford, 31134, f. 341, 350, 360, 523: Leake, 5441, f. 229: Godolphin, 28057, f. 270, 290, 320, 328: Stepney, 7058, f. 71, 77. Lond. Gaz., Oct. 31-Nov. 4, 1706. Boyer, V. 301-3, 307, 491, 495-6; VI. 379; IX. App. 105, 133. St. Pierre, 70-71. Impartial Hist. 6, 189, 192. Calendars [1714-19], 273. Jas. Stanhope, App. 19, 23, 28, 30-34, 37-40. Freind, 147-8. Peterborough, Aug. 18, 1706. Coxe, I. 472. Quincy, V. 241-254, 393-7. Targe, IV. 415. Berwick, I. 322-337, 344, 349. St. Simon, V. 173. Larrey, III. 324. Colbert, 250. Cannon, 6th Dragoon Guards. Duncan, I. 94.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SEPARATION OF THE ALLIES.

DURING 1706 Marlborough and the English ministers had directed their attention to the idea of operating by a joint expedition against the west coast of France. In May the Marquis de Guiscard, a French Protestant of considerable influence, proposed that the Allies should make a descent near the mouth of the Charente; and that several Huguenot regiments having landed there should proceed to rouse their co-religionists in Guyenne and amongst the Cevennois. The scheme having been approved, an expedition was fitted out, the fleet being commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and the army by Earl Rivers. Under the latter the principal officers were Lieutenant-General Erle; Guiscard, who was to command the Huguenots; and Brigadier-Generals Carpenter, Macartney and the Earl of Essex. The adjutant-general was Colonel Kempenfeldt, and the quartermaster-general, Colonel Jacob Borr of the Marines; whilst the chief engineer and commander of the train was Colonel Michael Richards.[1] The land force consisted of eleven

[1] *Earl Rivers* was born in 1664. He had fought bravely in Ireland and Flanders; but he had a reputation for indolence

squadrons of dragoons and sixteen battalions of foot, with a train of thirty-four heavy guns, six mortars, sixty cohorns and six field-pieces; and in all there were 8,200 troops, besides artillery.[1]

On August 10th the ships sailed from Portsmouth, but on the 15th were forced by contrary winds

and love of pleasure. *Lieutenant-General Thomas Erle* was present at Aghrim (where he was wounded), Steinkirk and Landen. He was a good officer of foot, and at the last-named battle had commanded a brigade. He held the post of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and was about fifty-five years of age. *Brigadier-General George Carpenter* (afterwards Lord Carpenter) was born in 1657, and as lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of horse had served with distinction throughout the campaigns in Ireland and Flanders. *Colonel Michael Richards* (the brother of John Richards) had been one of the King's engineers in Flanders, and was wounded at the assault of Namur. In 1703 he joined the staff of the Duke of Marlborough, and took part in the actions at the Schellenburg and Blenheim, the forcing of the French lines at Neerhespen and the battle of Ramilies. On the successful conclusion of the operation at the lines, he was sent to Vienna to inform the Emperor Joseph, and after the victory at Ramilies, he was selected to carry home the despatches. [In the present expedition, among the Queen's engineers employed under him, were Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Durand and Captains Pierre De Pagez, Paul La Mouline and Jean Chardeloup, all of whom were Huguenots.]

[1] The following was the composition of the troops:—Dragoons: two squadrons of Carpenter's (afterwards the 3rd Hussars); two of Essex's (afterwards the 4th Hussars); four of Guiscard's Huguenots; and three of Slippenbach's Dutch; altogether 1,100 men: Foot: Hill's (late Stanhope's), Mordaunt's (afterwards the 28th), Farringdon's (afterwards the 29th), Watkins's, Hotham's, Mark Kerr's, Macartney's, two battalions of English Marines, Nassau's Germans, and the Huguenot regiments of Blosset, Sybourg, Torsay, Belcastel, Lislemarais and Cavalier; in all 6,900 men. Guiscard's, Nassau's Germans, Blosset's, and Sybourg's were in English pay, the other Huguenot regiments being maintained by the Dutch. The train mustered about 200 officers and men, and with them Colonel John Richards returned to Spain. Watkins's regiment was subsequently landed at Gibraltar and exchanged for John Caulfield's and a Dutch battalion. Among the Huguenot colonels was *Jean Cavalier*, a noted leader

to put into Torbay. Whilst they were thus windbound, intelligence reached the Cabinet that the chances of a successful revolt in Guyenne had become hopeless; and accordingly it was resolved to change the destination of the expedition to some fortress on the coast of Spain; whereupon Guiscard with many of his officers left the army. Subsequently, and mainly at the instance of Colonel John Richards (who had again been sent home in connection with money matters), it was decided that another attempt should be made on Cadiz. The troops were to land at San Lucar, and would occupy Seville, whence they would proceed to blockade Cadiz into surrender.[1]

On October 12th the ships left Torbay, and for eight days advanced prosperously on their voyage; but in the Bay of Biscay they were overtaken by a terrible storm, which completely dispersed them. It had been agreed beforehand that, if thus separated, they should rendezvous at Lisbon; and here they gradually arrived. But the Portuguese strenuously endeavoured to retain them, and induced Rivers to

of Camisards, who for several years had maintained himself in the Cevennese mountains against the French armies. Even now he was only twenty-five years of age.

[1] Of his interview (at the tea-table) with Godolphin, Cowper and Hedges, Richards gives an interesting and amusing account. After describing a conversation in which he advised that Cadiz should be blockaded, and avowed his belief "that in fifteen or twenty days they would send us their keys," he goes on: "Upon this, his Lordship [Godolphin] put on a sham laugh, and said: 'Suppose, Mr. Richards, there was anything in what you say, which way would you go about it? Let's hear, for conversation's sake.'" Accordingly Richards showed them on the map of Spain the various operations that he proposed should be undertaken, and he then adds: "Although his Lordship called this table-talk, I perceived that it made some impression on him." And the same night, at a Cabinet Council, the scheme (he says) was actually agreed to.

write home for further instructions. During their detention in the Tagus the death of King Pedro took place; and it was thought that their presence would overawe any attempt made by the Bourbon party to wean the young King Juan from the Austrian cause. The fleet remained at Lisbon for upwards of two months; and during that time, deeming the occasion not ripe for attempting Cadiz, the English ministers finally determined to send the army to reinforce Galway; whilst, later on, Sir Cloudesley and the ships were to co-operate with Prince Eugene on the side of Italy in an attack on Toulon. Accordingly on February 8th, 1707, the expedition arrived at Alicant, where the troops were landed. Accompanying them from Lisbon were three Spanish battalions raised in that city for the Austrian service; whilst at Gibraltar they had been joined by Major-General Shrimpton.

King Charles now held a series of councils in regard to the best strategy to be pursued during the ensuing campaign. Of these the principal was held at Valencia on January 15th. Galway, Stanhope and the majority strongly advocated the execution of the policy favoured by Marlborough and the English ministers, which was to keep all the troops together and to advance with them a second time to Madrid. On the other hand Noyelles, Lichtenstein, Cardona (the viceroy of Valencia) and others, urged that the troops should be scattered throughout Valencia and Catalonia, the Allies remaining on the defensive; and with these views Charles himself unfortunately concurred. Stanhope then informed him with much spirit that the Queen did not spend vast sums of money and raise large numbers of soldiers in order to defend towns in Catalonia and Valencia, but to make him master of the Spanish monarchy.

Nevertheless the dispersion scheme was adopted; for Noyelles had determined to obtain a separate command over the Spanish troops; and by his advice Charles resolved to leave Galway and proceed to Catalonia, taking with him all the Austro-Spaniards. The immediate pretext was a threatened invasion of that province from Rousillon by a small French force under Noailles, in operating against whom Noyelles perceived an opening for independent action; and though Stanhope and D'Assumar warmly protested, it was to no effect. For in the middle of March, accompanied by Noyelles and the ministers, and taking with him Winterfeldt's dragoons, the Dutch battalion of Falais and the Spanish soldiers, Charles deliberately left Valencia and returned to Barcelona.

During his stay in Spain, Rivers maliciously assisted Noyelles in his intrigues against Galway, and in every possible manner endeavoured to thwart his senior officer. He assiduously ingratiated himself with King Charles, and was not without hopes of being appointed to replace Galway, who during the past winter had earnestly applied to Godolphin and Marlborough to be relieved. But the value of the Huguenot general was too well known; and on February 22nd despatches arrived from Sunderland (the new Secretary of State), dated January 8th, nominating him commander-in-chief of all the English forces in Spain. At the same time Rivers was directed either to remain as second in command, or to come home; and he at once chose the latter.[1]

[1] Treasury, CXXXIII. f. 6. State, Mil. Ent. [1707], VI. 429, 430; VII. 76; Spain [1700-13], 132, 133. Stowe Coll., Richards, XVII. 118; XXIII. 134; XXIV. 135; XXV. 136; XXVI. 137. Egerton Coll., Galway, 891, f. 1, 3-6, 8, 9. Add. Coll., Ordnance, 5795, f. 296-306: Ireland, 18595, f. 17: Stepney, 7058, f. 77: Strafford, 31134, f. 378, 380. Lond. Gaz., March 6-10, April 17-21, 1707. Boyer, V. 309-12, App. III.; VI. 6, 13-14; IX.

App. 110, 118, 122, 134-5, 138. Impartial Hist. 5, 20, 188-196, 204. Murray, III. 125; V. 602, 643. Coxe, I. 395-6, 469-72, 475-7; III. 90. Hist. MSS. Comm. VIII. 27. Calendars [1708-14], 129. Kemble's state correspondence, 405-22. Cartwright, 118. Rieutort, 152. Freind, 123. Luttrell, VI. 72. Cannon, 3rd and 4th Lt. Dragoons. Cunningham, I. 467; II. 84. Jas. Stanhope, App. 43-49. Macky, 69. Lett. Hist. XXIX. 619. Lamberty, IV. 575. Berwick, I. 342. Tindal, XVI. 302-3, 396; XVII. 342. Campbell, III. 274.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Battle of Almanza.

After the departure of King Charles and Rivers, Galway made active preparations for the field. He resolved to advance northward up the valley of the Guadalaviar into Arragon; and then, having turned the head of the Tagus, to descend along its basin to Madrid. By this strategy, the necessity of attempting the passage of that river and several others, in the face of a superior army, would be avoided. It was also hoped that from the side of Portugal, that nation, with a fresh force, would be able to co-operate; and in order to aid them, four regiments were about this time sent from England to Lisbon. But the prospects of the Allies had been heavily clouded by the suicidal measures of Noyelles. It was clear that, before they could gain Madrid, a decisive battle would have to be fought with Berwick, and yet the whole of those Catalans who had risen for the express object of seating Charles on the throne were kept back from the conflict. Allowing for the needs of the various garrisons, the number of regular troops thus withheld from joining Galway's standards cannot have been less than 10,300 men.[1]

[1] In Catalonia, Arragon and Valencia, at the disposal of Charles and Noyelles, there were the following Spanish regiments, viz.:— Horse and dragoons: the King's, Raphael Nebot's, Joseph Nebot's, Sobias's, Moraga's, Clariano's, Moras's, the Cordova and the City

On April 6th the English general began to concentrate his forces between Elda and Xativa; but before entering Arragon it was his intention to cross the Murcian frontier, and to destroy the French magazines adjacent thereto. By this means, during the absence of the army, Valencia would be secured from any inroads on a large scale. Judging from Berwick's usual tactics, Galway reasonably reckoned that he would fall back from his post at Villena, before the Allies, until he had been joined by the reinforcements he was expecting from France. These troops, consisting of 8,000 men under the command of the Duc D'Orléans, a nephew of Louis XIV., were at present on their march to Tudela in Navarre, where they would assemble previously to joining the Bourbon army.[1] Moreover detachments of Berwick's own troops were still in Castille; and his preparations for the field were not so forward as those of the Allies.

On the 10th, at the head of a force little exceeding 15,500 men—comprising Portuguese, English, Dutch, Huguenots and Germans, but no Spaniards—Galway and Das Minas advanced from Elda, crossed the frontier, and marched straight for Yecla, where lay Berwick's principal magazines. The French marshal at once re-

of Valencia, numbering in all 4,400 men:—Foot: the King's Guards, the Saragossa, the Valencia, Noyelles's, the Deputation, the City of Barcelona, two Neapolitan battalions and three Spanish ones recently arrived from Lisbon, numbering in all 7,500:—Total Spanish force, 11,900 men. Now besides the 800 Dutch taken by Noyelles to Barcelona, there were already 4,000 English and Dutch necessarily absorbed in the garrisons of Alicant, Denia, Gerona and Lerida, and to supplement these troops not more than 1,600 Spaniards were needed for the rest of the garrisons. Hence the number of regulars actually prevented by Noyelles's policy from fighting at Almanza amounted to 10,300 men.

[1] Philippe, Duc D'Orléans, was a brave, ambitious soldier, thirty-three years of age. In 1706 he had met with a severe defeat before Turin at the hands of Prince Eugene.

treated to Montalegre ; and the well-filled stores of Yecla fell into the hands of the Allies, to whom they proved of great advantage. Hoping to surprise his adversary, Galway at once pushed forward to Montalegre and Caudete; but Berwick retired in good time, and did not rest till the 16th, when he reached Chinchilla, nearly sixty miles in rear of his original post at Villena.

Both at Montalegre and Caudete the Bourbon magazines were captured by the Allies, who having thus accomplished their purpose fell back towards Villena, where was a small castle which, before marching into Arragon, it was desirable to capture. In it was a garrison of 150 French and 150 armed Murcians, under Captain De Grotest ; and on the 18th the Allies began to breach the walls; but Grotest made an excellent defence, and during the few days' delay caused thereby, Galway learnt that, on the 22nd, Berwick, having collected all his available troops at Chinchilla, was marching towards Almanza about twenty-five miles distant from Villena. He also heard that the marshal would shortly be joined by Orléans and the reinforcements. On the 24th, with the unanimous concurrence of Das Minas and the generals, Galway resolved to attack the Bourbons before Orléans should arrive. His own army was daily diminishing from sickness, which was especially rife among the raw troops brought by Rivers; and his supplies were becoming exhausted, for the whole of Murcia was hostile.

But the resolution was a most daring one; for in numbers alone the disparity between the two armies was immense. By the lowest Bourbon computation, Berwick was at the head of seventy-six squadrons and fifty-two battalions, numbering 25,400 men, besides a good train of artillery. Of these troops, 11,900 (or

nearly one-half) were French, and the remainder Spanish. On the other hand, a careful comparison of all available authentic records shows that, on April 24th, the number of effective troops in the heterogeneous army directed by Galway was 4,500 horse, 11,000 foot, and twenty-six guns. Of this force of 15,500 men, 7,870 (or rather more than one-half) were the poor Portuguese levies, 4,800 (or not quite one-third) were English, and the remaining sixth comprised 1,480 Dutch, 1,100 Huguenots, and 250 Germans.[1]

With the English contingent, in command of divisions, were Lieutenant-General Lord Tyrawley (formerly Sir Charles O'Hara), Lieutenant-General Erle and Major-General Shrimpton. Brigadier-Generals Killi-

[1] In his "Records of the 6th Regt.," Cannon, whose information is evidently obtained from the "Impartial Inquiry," puts the number of the British troops at 8,910; but the return from which this is taken is based on error, and apparently shows each regiment at its nominal strength. During the winter and spring seven English regiments of foot had dwindled so greatly that they had been reduced altogether. These were Brudenell's, Toby Caulfield's, Mohun's, Allen's (late Gorges's), Hamilton's, Farringdon's and Blosset's Huguenots. In addition, on March 22nd, near Alicant, Montandre's (late Dungannon's) regiment (for during the winter Lord Dungannon had died at Alicant) had been taken prisoners in a daring ambuscade formed by Colonel Zereceda, who was at the head of 110 Spanish dragoons. In this affair, after thirty-two were killed, the remainder, comprising Lieutenant-Colonel Bateman and 322 officers and men, surrendered as prisoners of war. Finally the Royal Dragoons, having been arduously employed throughout the winter on outpost duty, had been detached to Cullera for rest and refreshment. As regards the whole Austrian army (apart from the withholding of the available Spanish troops mentioned in Note, p. 210), the following analysis will explain approximately the reasons for the small number of the force that fought at Almanza:—

Brought by Galway from Madrid in September, 1706	12,000
Joined from Alicant and Catalonia	1,400
Brought by Rivers from Lisbon	7,500
Total accessions	20,900

grew and Carpenter led brigades of dragoons; and Brigadier-General Macartney, Colonels Hill, Breton and Wade, brigades of foot.[1] Colonel Michael Richards, the chief engineer, commanded the English train of six field-pieces; and Colonel Borgard was his second. The Dutch were under Major-General Frisheim, who was supported by Major-General Count Dohna and Brigadier-General Lislemarais, the latter having under him the Huguenot foot, who were all in Dutch pay. As regards the Portuguese, Lieutenant-General De Mascarenas was over the train of twenty pieces; but the names of the other subordinate generals are not clearly recorded.

On the 24th the Allies advanced from Villena, and encamped for the night at Caudete. At daybreak on the morning of the memorable 25th Galway began his march in four columns towards Almanza, which was eight miles distant. It was a small walled town, having to its eastward a large plain. In a strong position between the two, Berwick had drawn up his powerful

Withdrawn by Noyelles from the Allied camp . .	1,600
On detachment at Cullera, Alicant and Denia . . .	1,500
Captured in Zereceda's ambuscade	320
Lost since September 28, 1706, by casualties, sickness, death and desertion	1,980
Total diminutions	5,400
Difference, available for battle .	15,500

[1] The following were the English regiments:—Horse: Harvey's:* Dragoons: Carpenter's, Essex's,* Pearce's, Peterborough's,* Killigrew's (a remnant) and Guiscard's* Huguenots: Foot: the Guards, Portmore's,* Southwell's* (late Rivers's), Stewart's,* Hill's, Blood's,* Mordaunt's,* Wade's, Gorges's* (late Donegal's), Alnutt's (late Charlemont's), Mountjoy's,* Macartney's, Breton's, Bowles's (late John Caulfield's), Mark Kerr's and a battalion of Marines (probably Borr's*). The officers marked thus * were not present.

army to await the attack of the Allies. He had sent his baggage and equipment into the town, and had arranged his forces in the usual two lines, with the foot in the centre, the Spanish horse on the right, and the French horse on the left. His right rested on rising ground extending towards Montalegre, and his left on a height overlooking the road to Valencia. In front of his centre was a ravine, gradually dying out to the right, and thus, whilst defending his foot, offering no opposition to the movements of his horse. In advance of all lay the plain of Almanza, acting like a glacis to this living fortress, and swept by the fire of its well-posted artillery.

On the right the divisions of Bourbon horse were under Popoli and D'Asfeld; on the left, under Medinilla, St. Gilles and D'Avaray. The foot in the first line were under Vincentillo and La Badie; and in the second, under De Hessy. Mahoni was in command of a brigade of horse under D'Avaray; and Rigollot was over the train.

It was noon when the heads of the Austrian columns debouched on the plain, about a mile from the Bourbon position. The troops having halted and rested, Galway arrayed them in a double line, with the bulk of the foot in the centre. But as regards the wings, he introduced a novelty in the recognized mode of fighting; for with his horse, which in comparison with Berwick's were extremely weak, he interpolated battalions of foot. By this means he prolonged his front of cavalry, and at the same time gave them close flank support. The Portuguese claimed the post of honour on the right of the army; and here with the horse of the first line Das Minas, the nominal commander-in-chief, took up his position; whilst (notwithstanding the loss of his right arm) Galway, with much in-

trepidity, stationed himself in a similar position on the left, at the head of the English, Dutch and Huguenot dragoons. On the left of the second line were drawn up part of the Portuguese horse.

At three o'clock, the Allies having within sight of Berwick completed their dispositions, Galway and Carpenter, with the latter general's small brigade of three squadrons, consisting of his own, Essex's and Guiscard's dragoons, advanced against the Spanish horse under Popoli on the Bourbon right. The attack was in echelon of brigades from the left; and soon the whole of the first line of the Allies were in conflict with the enemy. On their approach, Rigollot opened fire from a battery on the right, to which Mascarenas and Michael Richards replied; but the artillery engagement was of short duration, and during the battle that ensued there were few (if any) opportunities for the employment of the guns on either side. Galway now detached Colonel Dormer with Essex's dragoons to attack the Bourbon battery, but on his approach the gunners limbered up and retired.

When Carpenter was within 100 paces of the Spanish horse, Popoli moved out to meet him, and a very severe struggle at once commenced. At first, by sheer weight of numbers, the Spaniards drove back the English some fifty paces; but Wade's brigade came up, and the Bourbons received on their left flank some well-delivered volleys from his own and Southwell's foot. Carpenter was then joined by Killigrew, and his men having rallied, the two brigades in their turn charged the Spaniards, and drove them back through their first line with considerable slaughter.

In the centre Erle leading Macartney's English, with Frisheim's Dutch and Huguenots, at once closed with

Vincentillo's Spaniards and La Badie's French, and attacked them with astonishing boldness. Supported by Shrimpton's division in the second line (comprising Breton's English and Germans, Dohna's Dutch, and Lislemarais's Huguenots), Erle's men threw back the unresisting Bourbon battalions as if they had been merely flocks of sheep. Soon they were heaped on to Hessy's division in the second line; and it was not long before the greater portion of Berwick's infantry was driven off the field right up to the walls of Almanza.

Then it was that, in order to cover the exposed right flank of the victorious Allied foot, the Portuguese horse on the right (under the personal leadership of Das Minas) should have attacked the French cavalry opposite them. But from some unexplained cause they remained motionless; and D'Avaray's troopers, charging Erle and Shrimpton, both in flank and rear, in overwhelming numbers, caused them to relinquish their grip on the Bourbon foot, and to fight desperately for their own safety. Meanwhile Berwick, observing the Portuguese inactivity, sent forward St. Gilles with the French horse of the first line to attack them. But with the exception of a few squadrons immediately around Das Minas, the Portuguese did not even wait to receive the French onset; for at once turning round, they galloped off the field. This caused a panic among their horse in the second line, and also among seven or eight of their battalions, all of whom followed their example in fleeing from the battle; and thereupon, in order not to be behindhand, the Portuguese train deserted their guns, and joined the misbehaving horse and foot. St. Gilles then attacked the eleven Portuguese battalions of the first line which had stood firm; and it is fair to state that some of these troops fought well, formed squares and were killed at

their posts; but it was not long before most of them were routed and dispersed.

On the left the battle had been waged more equally; but Galway having received two sabre cuts near his right eye, which temporarily deprived him of sight, was obliged to retire from the field. This was a most unfortunate occurrence; for there was no other leader whom all the generals would obey. Nevertheless Tyrawley, with the horse under Carpenter, Killigrew and Winterfeldt, supported by Wade's and Hill's foot, maintained an excellent resistance against the attacks of Popoli and D'Asfeld. Herein he was aided by the Portuguese squadrons on the left of the second line, whom, when abandoned by the bulk of his troopers on the right, Das Minas himself had joined.

But by this time the Allied cavalry had sustained severe losses, especially in officers. Fighting in the thickest of the battle, Killigrew had already been wounded, but would not leave the field; and once more gallantly leading his men to the charge, he met the death of a hero. Dormer, Lawrence and Green, commanding respectively Essex's, Carpenter's and Peterborough's dragoons, were also killed; whilst Pearce at the head of his own corps was wounded, and De Loches, his lieutenant-colonel, killed. However the Spaniards had been so repeatedly repulsed that they could no longer be brought to attack the Allied left. At this juncture Berwick detached nine French battalions from Hessy's division, and placing them under D'Asfeld, launched them forth to oppose Wade's brigade, which had been reinforced by Stewart's regiment from the second line. At the same time he drew up a powerful array of fresh squadrons to make a final charge on the shattered Austrian horse. The attack was made simultaneously, and could not be withstood. The undaunted but greatly

fatigued English and Dutch troopers were overpowered and cut up; and Tyrawley was forced to retreat.

In the centre there had been very hard fighting between the unsupported Allied foot and the numerous cavalry of the Bourbon right wing, by whom they were surrounded. The conflict had been at close quarters, and almost of an individual nature; but in those times, even in squares, the foot were almost powerless against good horse, and eventually the greater part of the Austrian infantry were either killed or taken prisoners. The regiments which principally suffered were the Guards, the Marines, Mordaunt's, Bowles's, Nassau's Germans, Cavalier's Huguenots and Welderen's Dutch. Cavalier's men, who had formed square, were almost annihilated, and the colonel was desperately wounded; whilst the lieutenant-colonel, five captains, six lieutenants and five ensigns were killed on the spot.[1]

Thus after a battle lasting two hours the Allies were broken at all points, and their defeat was complete. To facilitate the retreat of the discomfited left, Galway (who had resumed the command) dispatched Colonel Roper at the head of Harvey's horse (which was still in good condition) against two French battalions that had taken Wade's men in flank. Roper made a vigorous onset, causing much carnage among the French musketeers before their troopers could come to their rescue, but he himself was killed. Carpenter then made a final charge with La Fabrecque's Huguenot dragoons, under cover of which Galway with the remains of the Allied left, numbering 3,500 men, and accompanied by Tyrawley, Das Minas, Erle, Frisheim and Wade, retired from the

[1] Cavalier was rescued from the field, and recovered from his wounds. He became a brigadier-general in the English service, and for some time was governor of Jersey. He died at Chelsea in 1740, at the age of fifty-nine.

field, in good order and unpursued, to Ontiniente, a town twenty-two miles distant. But before doing so he sent off under Michael Richards the English train of six guns, most of the Allied camp equipment and baggage, the commissariat stores and the ambulances with the wounded and sick; and these, which formed a convoy of 400 waggons, arrived in due time safely at the Grao of Valencia.

Assisted by Dohna and Brigadiers Macartney, Breton, Hill and Emanuel, Shrimpton rallied the remnants of the centre, which comprised portions of five English, three Huguenot, three Portuguese and two Dutch regiments of foot, and numbered 2,000 men. With these troops, pursued by D'Asfeld with a large body of horse, he retreated to the hills in the direction of Caudete for a distance of eight miles. He there took up a strong position, and his men lay all night on their arms. In the morning they found themselves nearly surrounded by the Bourbon cavalry, with little ammunition and no food. In this emergency a council was assembled; and (after much debate) it was resolved that they should surrender as prisoners of war. Accordingly Shrimpton sent a parley to D'Asfeld, and his men laid down their arms.[1]

In this battle the Allies lost 4,000 killed or wounded, 3,000 prisoners (including the 2,000 captured with Shrimpton), the Portuguese train of twenty guns, a

[1] The only English regiments which thus capitulated were Portmore's, Hill's, Gorges's, Macartney's and Breton's. [Hamilton (in his history) includes the Guards, but they were not amongst the number.] To express a decided opinion regarding Shrimpton's surrender would be very difficult. On the one hand, it is clear that on the part of some of the officers there was a strong opposition to the proposal; and from the account of Shrimpton's own conduct at Gibraltar in 1705, it is certain that audacity was not his *forte*. On the other hand, no explicit condemnation of the act by contemporary writers can anywhere be found. Shrimpton died in December, 1707.

number of regimental colours and standards, and some baggage. The killed and wounded were chiefly amongst the English, Dutch and Huguenots, by whom in reality the battle was fought. Exclusive of the 7,000 casualties above mentioned, there were 5,000 stragglers who had been dispersed during the fight. But of these 1,500, chiefly foot, joined Galway during his retreat; and, during the next few months, the remainder gradually regained their regiments in Catalonia.[1]

The English officers slain comprised one brigadier-general, five colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, two majors, thirty captains and forty-three subalterns, or eighty-eight in all.[2] Those taken prisoners numbered as many as 286, of whom ninety-two were wounded.[3]

[1] In all the English nineteenth century accounts of this battle, its effects are much exaggerated. Especially is this the case in the account of it given in his "Essays" by Lord Macaulay. So far as is known, the present is the first history published which records the fact that the English did not lose their guns.

[2] The officers who were slain included Brigadier-General Killigrew (to whose memory there is a monument in Westminster Abbey); Colonels Roper ‡ of Harvey's, Lawrence ‡ of Carpenter's, Dormer ‡ of Essex's, Ramsay ‡ of Macartney's and H. Arskin [? Erskine] of Mark Kerr's; Lieutenant-Colonels Des Loches of Pearce's, Green ‡ of Peterborough's, Austin ‡ of the Guards, Macneile ‡ of Southwell's, Woollett and Withers of Blood's, and Arskin of Mark Kerr's (apparently a brother of the colonel). The officers marked thus ‡ had been in command of their respective corps. The number of officers killed in each English regiment was as follows:—Harvey's 3, Carpenter's 3, Essex's 2, Killigrew's 2, Pearce's 4, Peterborough's 6, the Guards 3, Portmore's 1, Southwell's 9, Stewart's 8, Hill's 6, Blood's 3, Mordaunt's 2, Wade's 5, Gorges's 3, Alnutt's 5, Mountjoy's 1, Macartney's 5, Breton's 3, and Mark Kerr's 8. Among the officers wounded and not taken prisoners were Colonels Pearce, Lord Mark Kerr and Clayton.

[3] Among the captured officers were Major-General Shrimpton; Brigadier-General Macartney; Acting Brigadiers Breton and Hill; Colonels Alex. Hamilton ‡ of Gorges's (wounded), Congreve ‡ of Breton's, Archibald Hamilton ‡ of Mountjoy's, Alnutt ‡ of Alnutt's (wounded) and Bowles ‡ of Bowles's (who last year had been taken prisoner at Elche); with Lieutenant-Colonels Talbot and Swan of

On the side of the Bourbons the slain alone amounted to 3,000; and as the wounded can hardly have been less, their total loss may be estimated at 6,000 men. During the advance of the Allied foot the French centre had suffered heavily, and among their officers killed were Brigadier-Generals Sillery and Polastron. For five days after the battle Berwick was unable to move; and the victory, though a great one, was by no means fatal to the Austrian cause, for broadly speaking, its chief effect was merely to retrieve the defeat received by Tessé before Barcelona.[1]

the Guards, Kirk‡ of Portmore's, Davidson‡ of Mordaunt's, Frankland and Barry (wounded) of Alnutt's, Cooper of Mountjoy's, Alexander of Breton's, Dowglasse of Macartney's and De Magny of Nassau's. The officers marked thus ‡ were in command of their regiments.

[1] State, Home, Ireland [1707], 379. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXVI. 137; XXVII. 138; XXVIII. 139. Egerton Coll., Galway, 891, f. 5, 9, 10, 12: Historical, 2618, f. 205. Add. Coll., Strafford, 22264, f. 18; 31134, f. 392, 399: Stepney, 7058, f. 87. Lond. Gaz., March 6-10, May 1-12, June 2-5, 1707. Boyer, VI. 14-19, 491, App. 19, 22-24, 30; IX. App. 107, 129, 137. Magnæ Britanniæ Notitiæ [1707], 557-573; [1710], 552-559. Impartial Hist. 6, 202, 236, 238. Brodrick's War in the Netherlands [1713], 190-4. Burnet, 808. Cunningham, II. 93-97. Jas. Stanhope, App. 50-52. Calendars [1702-7], 129, 566; [1709], CXIV. 10; [1708-14], CXLIII. 16. Cannon, 2nd Regt. 32; 6th Regt. 46; 9th Regt. 18; 17th Regt. 14. Duncan, I. 94. Coxe, II. 61. Quincy, V. 393-406. Berwick, I. 349-359. Lamberty, IV. 579. Limiers, VIII. 147-9. Lett. Hist. XXXI. 586-591. Targe, V. 85-86. St. Simon, V. 317-319. Reboulet, II. 306. Millot, II. 403. Tindal, XVI. 402-9. Oldmixon, 390-1. Smollett, II. 116-117. Campbell, III. 317. Scott's works of Swift [Bickers], XV. 280.

CHAPTER XXV.

Xativa and Denia.

On the 26th Galway and his defeated troops left Ontiniente and marched to Alcira, a fortified town on the Xucar, about fifty miles from Almanza. Here, the English general, neither dispirited by his misfortune nor affected by his wounds, remained for six days energetically arranging for the defence of the Valencian fortresses. For although the open country, or "kingdom" (as it was termed), of Valencia was lost to Charles, the Allies were in possession of all its principal fortified towns, including those of Alicant, Denia, Alcira, Xativa, Alcoy, Valencia, Requena (within the Castilian frontier), Morella and San Mateo. From Ontiniente, Galway had written to Major-General (late Colonel) John Richards, who had succeeded Gorges as governor of Alicant (this general having gone home with Rivers), giving special instructions regarding that fortress and Denia.

Fortunately on the 20th Byng had arrived at Alicant from Lisbon with a squadron bringing a reinforcement of 2,600 troops (of whom 1,600 were Dutch, 800 Portuguese, and 200 Spanish) together with clothing, money and provisions. Galway now wrote to the admiral requesting that the wounded, sick, baggage and

stores might be embarked on board the squadron and conveyed to Tortosa with the drafts; and he added that he himself was on the march to Catalonia "to make up another army." With this request Byng zealously complied; and having furnished Richards with provisions, money and ammunition, he sailed with the wounded for Tortosa.

At Alcira, Galway posted in the castle, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, 800 of the foot brought from the battlefield (who were chiefly English and Dutch), and the remaining 700 he sent under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of Montandre's to defend the castle of Xativa. On the 30th he ordered Colonel De St. Pierre to join him with the Royal Dragoons from Cullera, and on May 3rd, accompanied by all his horse, he set out for Tortosa. Passing through the city of Valencia, where the inhabitants were awaiting the advent of Ramos from Lerida in order to make a vigorous resistance against the expected Bourbon attack, he arrived on the 5th at Murviedro. Having rested there three days, he proceeded to Tortosa, 100 miles distant, which town, after a well-ordered march of eleven days, he reached on the 19th. Opposite Tortosa, on the right bank of the Ebro, he threw up a strong earthen lunette, which he armed with field guns and garrisoned with 500 men.

Meanwhile the Duc D'Orléans had left his reinforcements in Navarre, and had hastened through Madrid to join the Bourbon army, in the command of which he was about to supersede Berwick; but much to his disappointment, he arrived at the camp of the latter on the day after the battle. It was then decided not to pursue Galway immediately, but to besiege Requena and Valencia; whilst D'Asfeld, at the head of a strong force, should operate against Alcira, Xativa and

Denia. On the 30th Orléans moved from Almanza, and on May 2nd arrived with the horse before Requena, where next day he was joined by the foot and artillery; and although there was a good castle, with a garrison of 488 regulars and militia, the Austro-Spanish governor immediately surrendered. Next day Orléans advanced against Valencia, and on the 6th, having arrived at Chesté, sent a summons to the city. Unfortunately Corsana, who had been in command of the Spanish defenders, had thought fit to withdraw with his troops to Murviedro, and Ramos not having arrived, the townspeople being without a leader were forced to submit; hence on the 8th they sent deputies to the Bourbon camp. On the 9th leaving Berwick in command, Orléans set out for Tudela in Navarre, where (after placing himself at the head of the reinforcements) he intended to enter Arragon, to occupy Saragossa, and afterwards to rejoin Berwick near Lerida.

That general now took possession of the Valencian capital, caused the walls to be demolished, and commenced the construction of a citadel to hold in check the Austrian sympathizers. He seized the archives, disarmed the inhabitants, and levied on them a fine of 40,000 pistoles. Having left Delvallée with 3,700 men in occupation, he proceeded with a force of 13,000 to Murviedro, and there encamped. Keeping three days' march in rear of Galway, the French marshal cautiously followed in his track, and on the 23rd encamped before the lunette on the right bank of the Ebro.

Two days afterwards he assaulted the work and attempted to cross the river, but the stormers were repulsed with loss, and the boats were sunk by the guns. He then called up D'Asfeld, with the siege

train, from Valencia, to continue the operations; and on the arrival of that general on the 29th, marched with 10,000 men to Caspe in Arragon, sixty miles higher up the river, where he intended to collect boats to cross it. D'Asfeld attacked the lunette by mining, and having made an opening, delivered an assault, and though the garrison made a brave resistance, captured the work. But no advantage appears to have accrued from the occupation of it; and the French general returned to Valencia to continue his siege of the fortresses in that province.

On the 5th of this month (before he had been summoned to the Ebro) this commander, with 3,500 men, had arrived before Xativa, whilst Mahoni with 3,000 had been detached to attack Alcira. In Xativa was a body of Valencian miquelets and armed citizens under a resolute Spanish governor (whose name is not handed down); whilst the castle was held by Campbell with 700 regulars. The demand to yield having been refused, D'Asfeld being without artillery, and not wishing to risk an escalade, found himself powerless. Berwick had then sent him guns, together with a reinforcement of 3,000 men; and on their arrival he had opened trenches and constructed batteries. The town was merely surrounded by a slight wall, without ditch or glacis, and it was not long before a large breach was made. D'Asfeld at once assailed it, and after overcoming a determined resistance, made a lodgment on the ramparts.

The Valencians having thrown up retrenchments, the lodgment was converted into a battery, and these new works were soon breached and captured. But when this was done, the besiegers found that the buildings in rear had been formed into a sort of fortress, and that, before the place could be won, a house-to-house

attack would have to be made. The Valencians fought in the most desperate manner, and it was only after a defence unparalleled for firmness, that, on the 19th, the French general was able to consider himself master of the town. But so enraged was he at the manner in which he had been encountered, that he put to the sword every living being found in the place, and allowed great barbarities to be perpetrated. However many of the inhabitants took refuge in the castle, and this work still remained to be reduced. As it could not easily be battered, D'Asfeld contented himself with investing it; but on the 21st, having been ordered by Berwick to the Ebro to attack the lunette, he marched there with the bulk of his force, leaving 1,000 men to maintain the blockade till Mahoni could arrive from Alcira.

At this town a good stand had also been made; but on June 1st, after holding out as long as he could, Stewart surrendered with credit, and on the agreement that his garrison should be conducted to Catalonia to join Galway. Mahoni then proceeded to direct operations against Xativa; but all he could do was to continue the investment. This lasted till the 12th, when, after a defence of thirty-nine days, Campbell, finding his water exhausted, was obliged to capitulate; but he obtained the honours of war, and (like Stewart) an engagement to be escorted to the Austrian army. By the good defence of Xativa the Bourbons lost many men, and were much delayed in their preparations for the invasion of Catalonia.

On hearing of the resistance made by this town, Berwick caused it to be totally destroyed, and left only the principal church standing. In addition he treated its garrison and that of Alcira, numbering together (exclusive of wounded and sick) about 1,300 men, in a

very dishonourable manner. For though he certainly caused them to be led to Catalonia, yet he first made them traverse on foot the greater part of Arragon, so that when, some months afterwards, they actually joined Galway, their numbers were much diminished by the privations and hardships they had suffered in their long journey. This conduct he excused by urging that nothing was said in the terms of capitulation about their being taken to the Austrians by the shortest route!

During his march from Murviedro to Tortosa, Galway had been met by Ramos on his way from Lerida. It was through the English general's earnest application that the Spanish one had been released from prison in this town (where on various pretences he had been confined);[1] and at the instance of Galway, who held him in high estimation, he immediately proceeded to Denia to animate the Valencians in its defence.

The town was girdled by the customary wall; the castle inside was on a slight eminence; and there was a good armament, besides plenty of ammunition and provisions. The troops in the place consisted of 545 regulars, of whom 185 were English and 360 Spanish; and there was a body of Valencian miquelets and armed citizens, numbering about 2,500 men. The English formed the garrison of the castle, and were under Major Charles Perceval of Montandre's regiment.[2] They comprised 15 gunners, 70 men of Montandre's, and 100 of Hotham's. The Spaniards were under the

[1] Ramos had been accused of misappropriating money during his dictatorship at Valencia, but the charge had never been proved. Among his principal enemies had been Peterborough, who on arrival at the city (after the siege of San Mateo) had looked upon him as an inconvenient rival.

[2] Major Charles Perceval was a brother of the Rev. William Perceval (afterwards Dean of Emly), and a cousin of the first Earl of Egmont. He was thirty-three years of age.

command of Ramos, who was in charge of the town, as distinct from the castle; whilst the civil governor of the place was Don Diego Rejon de Silba. The defence was directed by Lieutenant-Colonel Jean Chardeloup, a Queen's engineer, who threw up earthworks to supplement the fortifications.

About June 15th Mahoni, with 4,000 French and Spanish troops, arrived before the place from Xativa, but being without guns, he merely established a line of investment. On the 26th D'Asfeld joined him from the Ebro with 5,000 men and a siege train. Trenches were then pushed forward, and batteries erected. On the 30th the Bourbon guns opened fire, and were vigorously replied to by the fortress. By July 5th De Voye, the French chief engineer, had advanced his approaches (partly by sap) to 150 yards of the place, and had commenced to rend the walls by a cannonade from eleven guns. But on these pieces Chardeloup poured a fire so powerful that by nightfall they were silenced. However next day, having remounted his artillery, De Voye renewed his attack, and soon made a wide breach.

On the morning of the 7th, with 500 grenadiers, supported by 3,000 foot, D'Asfeld delivered an assault, Mahoni being in command of the storming party. Chardeloup had formed strong retrenchments, and Ramos had made every preparation for resistance. After an hour's hard fighting the stormers were repulsed with a loss of 300 killed, besides many wounded, among whom was Mahoni. Next day De Voye pushed his approaches nearer the breach, which at midnight D'Asfeld again attacked, and in greater force than before. But Ramos and his Valencians were on the alert, and a severe conflict resulted in the Bourbons being a second time beaten back.

De Voye had now constructed two more batteries; and on the 9th he pierced a new breach to the left of the first one, and of about the same width. On the morning of the 10th D'Asfeld beat a parley, and sent in a captain with letters for the governor and Perceval, expressing concern that they should have been so imprudent as to stand two storms, and urging them, before he made a final one, to accept the mercy of King Philip. He added that otherwise they must expect no quarter; for he would put every man, woman and child to the sword. Thereupon Ramos, Perceval and Silba unanimously resolved to hold out till the last. They informed D'Asfeld that, being "in good case," they were by no means inclined to surrender, and since he would give them no quarter, they on their part would give *him* none.

At four that afternoon D'Asfeld made his third attempt. With all his grenadiers, supported by 3,000 foot and several regiments of dismounted dragoons, he attacked both breaches; but after an hour and a half's determined contest, his men were driven to their trenches with heavy loss, those who had been captured inside the walls having been at once killed. The same day the garrison received a welcome reinforcement by sea; for on his way to join the fleet, Captain Moody, in the "Lancaster," 70, touched at the port, and hearing that the place was being besieged, at once landed 400 seamen, who aided in the defence.

On the morning of the 11th the French general delivered his fourth assault, and this time with the whole of his available forces. The first man that entered was an intrepid priest, who carried before him a crucifix, and cried, "Here enters Christianity!" but he was at once shot by an English soldier. A bloody engagement took place, and at the close of two hours' hand-to-hand

fighting Ramos was again victorious, the Bourbon troops being hurled back to their trenches, leaving the breaches covered with their killed and wounded.

On the following day the besiegers were perceived to be very quiet; and in the night, after burning everything he could not carry off, but leaving many of his dead unburied, D'Asfeld struck his camp and marched away. Collecting a detachment, Ramos sallied through the breaches and for some distance harassed his rear. During this notable siege, which had lasted twenty-seven days, the Bourbons lost as many as 3,500 men, of whom 1,500 were killed, the remainder being wounded, sick, or deserters; but the loss of the garrison did not exceed 300. The English casualties were only four killed and seven wounded, among the latter being Captain Hawkins of Hotham's.[1]

Meanwhile Galway was making active preparations along the lines of the Ebro and the Cinca for the defence of Catalonia. On May 11th Michael Richards (accompanied by Lewis Petit and Borgard), with the field train from Almanza, had arrived at Tortosa. Petit was charged with the duty of preparing that fortress for a siege; Lieutenant-Colonel Durand was sent to Tarragona; and similarly, other Queen's engineers were despatched to Lerida, Mequinenza, Monzon and the various towns along the Arragon frontier. The Allied horse (the English being under Carpenter) were posted along the Ebro, between Tortosa and Mequinenza.

On June 4th Berwick arrived at Caspe; and two days afterwards, leaving his army, he proceeded to visit Orléans, who on the 25th, with the reinforcements from Navarre, had reached Saragossa. On his

[1] For the details of this gallant defence (now for the first time published), the principal authority is furnished by the valuable MSS. in the collection of the Earl of Egmont.

approach, La Puebla, who commanded the Dutch and Spanish regulars stationed there, about 2,000 in number, had retired to Lerida. Orléans then occupied the city (which was unfortified), disarmed the citizens, levied a fine of 45,000 pistoles, and ordered the construction of a citadel. At this time Prince Henry, whose force was quite inadequate to oppose the French, had withdrawn into Lerida; and soon the whole of Arragon returned to the Bourbon allegiance. Orléans now resolved to besiege Lerida, and D'Asfeld's train in Valencia being insufficient, an additional one was demanded from France.

Returning to Caspe, Berwick (having collected boats) took his troops over the Ebro, and on the 14th encamped at Caudasmos. Next day he was joined by Orléans with 5,000 men; and on the 18th the whole army marched to Ballovar on the Cinca. At this time Galway had ranged his horse along the bank of that river, with their left on Mequinenza. He vigilantly guarded all the fords, and as the Bourbons had no bridging materials, he effectually debarred them from crossing.

Under these circumstances Orléans contented himself with extending from Fraga to Estiche and detaching Lieutenant-General D'Arènes, at the head of 3,000 men, to reduce Mequinenza. That general arrived before the place on the 19th, and the town immediately surrendered; but the regular garrison consisting of 500 Dutch and Portuguese, under a Spanish governor, threw themselves into the castle, which was strongly situated on a rock. A siege train had therefore to be sent for, and trenches were opened. On the 27th Orléans arrived at the attackers' camp; on July 5th D'Arènes began to batter the castle; and a few days afterwards the garrison submitted. But for fourteen

days, along a distance of twenty-five miles, Galway and Carpenter, at the head of 4,000 horse (chiefly English and Portuguese), foiled all the efforts made by Orléans and Berwick, with 6,600 horse and 5,400 foot, to cross the Cinca.[1]

However on July 1st Légal managed to ford the river at Estiche, and Orléans, with the remainder of the army, at Fraga. The boats collected in the Ebro were then brought up into the Segre, which Orléans also crossed. During these operations Galway fell back successively from the Cinca and the Segre, and posted himself near Lerida. On the 13th the French commander advanced to Alcaraz, four miles distant, and made an effort to surprise the Allies, but unsuccessfully, for they retreated in good time to Bellping. The heats being then excessive, Orléans took up his quarters at Balaguer, and placed his army in cantonments along the frontier, thus affording Galway and the Allies a period of much-needed repose.[2]

[1] In recommending Carpenter for promotion, Galway warmly praised his services both in the defence of the Cinca and at the battle of Almanza.

[2] Lord Egmont's MSS. [1697-1709]. State, Spain [1700-13], 132. Treasury, CII. 87. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXVI. 137; XXVII. 138; XXVIII. 139. Egerton Coll., Galway, 891, f. 10, 12, 14, 17. Add. Coll., Wogan, 21428, f. 3: Strafford, 31134, f. 399, 417. Lond. Gaz., July 7-10, 31-Aug. 4, 1707. Boyer, VI. 19-26; IX. App. 107. Impartial Hist., 240-6, 260. St. Pierre, 88. Jas. Stanhope, App. 54-61. Cunningham, II. 99. Quincy, V. 408-419, 424-5. Berwick, I. 360-371. Limiers, VIII. 151-2. Lett. Hist., XXXII. 210, 340. Larrey, III. 333-4. Millot, II. 404-5, 411. Tindal, XVI. 409-11. Campbell, III. 317. Burke, [1872].

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Siege of Lerida.

During the three months succeeding the battle of Almanza, all that Berwick and Orléans had accomplished was the reduction of Requena and Valencia city; the capture of the small towns of Alcira, Xativa and Mequinenza; and the establishment of the Bourbon troops on the Arragonese frontier of Catalonia. Of course, in the absence of an Austrian army, the open parts (or "kingdoms") of Valencia and Arragon had at once fallen. But the military possession of Valencia was by no means accomplished; for Alicant, Denia and several smaller fortresses in the north were still in the hands of the Allies. Moreover, as a set-off against their successes, the Bourbons had lost heavily before Xativa and Denia; and indeed, at the latter place, they had experienced a severe defeat.

On the side of the Allies, after animating the Valencian fortresses and retreating slowly to Tortosa, Galway had vigorously defended Catalonia and checked Orléans along the frontier rivers. But in the various actions which he undertook the English general was in nowise assisted by Charles and his ministers, who at this time had sunk into a state of confusion and helplessness. In command of a force of Austro-Spaniards and Dutch, Noyelles had been engaged in desultory skirmishing against Noailles in the Ampurdan; but towards Galway

the Dutch veteran still cherished his former animus. He not only declined to assist him with troops, but he wrote to the Hague accusing him as the author of all the King's misfortunes.

However, in no manner disheartened by these circumstances, the Earl steadfastly set himself to revive the Austrian hopes. Out of the English stragglers from Almanza, who by October, to the number of nearly 2,000, had gradually rejoined the Allies, he organized five new battalions, and with them resuscitated the five oldest regiments that had been broken up in the battle.[1] He recruited, and took on English pay, Charles's Saragossa regiment, which had dwindled to a company; raised for the Queen's service four battalions of Catalans, numbering 1,900 men; re-equipped the English horse; and strengthened the train. Under his direction the Portuguese troops were also placed in a condition of greater efficiency, and by the end of October they mustered 3,700 horse and 3,300 foot.

Early in September he concentrated his forces at Tarraga, twenty miles east of Lerida, and with them, aided by the Catalan miquelets, hoped to attempt the relief of that fortress, which Orléans was preparing to besiege. On the 16th he was reinforced by the remnants of the Alcira and Xativa garrisons, who after three months' travelling in Arragon marched into the Allied camp with drums beating and colours flying. His army at Tarraga consisted of 4,800 horse, 7,600 foot, 2,200 miquelets and 20 guns. Of the regulars 5,000 were Portuguese, 3,100 English, 2,700 Spanish (in English pay), 1,400 Dutch and 200 Huguenots. In the Eng-

[1] These regiments were Portmore's, Southwell's, Stewart's, Hill's and Blood's, the commands of which Galway gave to Colonels Honeywood, Dalzell, Stewart, Clayton and Du Bourgay respectively. Later on he also reformed Mordaunt's and Wade's.

lish contingent Erle was second to Galway, Carpenter led the horse, Stanhope (who had volunteered his services) the foot, and Michael Richards the train.[1] Das Minas still commanded the Portuguese (and nominally the whole force), and Frisheim the Dutch. Thus in less than five months after the defeat of Almanza, with wonderful energy, and without assistance either from home or from Charles, Galway had raised another army of 14,600 fighting men, who were well equipped, supported by a good train, provided with transport, and ready to take the field.

At Balaguer Orléans remained inactive for nearly six weeks; but on August 23rd, at the head of a large body of cavalry, he advanced against the Allied horse posted at Bellping, who thereupon retreated to Iqualada. On September 10th he encamped before Lerida, and three days afterwards completed its investment on both sides of the Segre. But in connection with the siege of Toulon (by Prince Eugene), which took place this autumn, D'Arènes, with 5,000 men, had been detached to France, and until his return the attack on Lerida could not be commenced. Moreover the whole of the French train had not yet arrived, nor were the necessary stores obtained. And in the meantime Berwick endeavoured to dissuade Orléans from undertaking the siege at all; but that general was resolute; he determined to await the arrival of the troops and guns, and meanwhile to collect materials.

By the beginning of October his patience was rewarded; for the Allied expedition against Toulon had failed, and D'Arènes had returned.[2] Brancas had also

[1] Tyrawley and Wade had gone home, and the former did not return. He died in 1724 at the age of eighty-four. In July the death of Major-General Floyd had occurred at Barcelona.

[2] Not long after this failure a great loss befell the Austrian

arrived from Leon with six Spanish battalions; the heavy guns from Navarre and Valencia had reached the camp; and everything was ready for the siege. At this time the Bourbon army numbered 6,600 horse and 16,300 foot, or 22,900 men in all, of whom 17,200 were French and 5,700 Spanish.

Lerida, situated on the right bank of the Segre, was a fortress of considerable importance. The place was encircled by a well-flanked escarp, lately strengthened on the south-east side by a well-traced counterguard. In the centre of the town, on a rocky hill, was a strong castle, consisting of an enclosure about 300 yards square, and bastioned on three sides. The place was fairly supplied with guns, ammunition and defensive *matériel*, but not so well with provisions. The governor was Prince Henry, who was now a lieutenant-general in Charles's service, and under him Major-General Wills commanded the English. For the size of the fortress the garrison was very small, amounting only to 1,800 regulars and 800 miquelets. There were three English regiments, consisting of the Royal Fusiliers, Wills's and another battalion of Marines, two Dutch corps and one Portuguese.

On the night of the 2nd, with his left resting on the Segre, Orléans commenced his attack on the east side. On the 8th Prince Henry made a sortie, filled part of the trenches, burnt the fascines, and killed several officers and men. Next day the Bourbons opened fire from nineteen guns and four mortars. On the front of

cause in the death of the gallant Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who on the night of November 3rd (at the age of fifty-seven), whilst returning with the fleet from the unsuccessful enterprise, was wrecked in his flagship, the "Association," on the Scilly Isles, and perished with all on board. A few days afterwards his remains were recovered, and later on were buried with much honour in Westminster Abbey.

the castle facing the attack the Prince had mounted fourteen pieces, and from these he concentrated a heavy fire on one of the principal Bourbon batteries, which he quickly silenced. The French chief engineer (whose name, unfortunately, is not mentioned) then sapped towards the counterguard, in which his guns soon made a breach. But the fortress replied with spirit; many French gunners were killed, and several of their cannon were disabled.

On the 11th a second breach had been made in the main escarp behind the counterguard, and next night both were assaulted by 300 grenadiers, supported by 1,200 foot (all French), commanded by D'Avaray. But the Prince and Wills were in readiness, and a determined struggle ensued. The stormers made two separate attacks, both of which were repulsed; and after two hours' fighting, with the loss of many men, D'Avaray abandoned the attempt. During the remainder of the night the Prince posted nearly the whole of his men in a flanking position close to the river outside the walls, whence they maintained (as Berwick himself said) "a terrible firing" on the Bourbon soldiers in the advanced trenches. These lost heavily, but bravely held their ground; and next day the French engineer sapping up to the outer breach, bloodlessly gained possession of it. He then advanced to the inner one, and in the same manner obtained a lodgment thereon.

On the 14th, finding the town no longer tenable, the Prince withdrew his troops into the castle, carrying with him most of the inhabitants and everything of value. Next morning Orléans occupied the place, and gave it up the whole day to pillage, the plunder being methodically conducted by a small party detached from each company in the besieging army.

On the 16th he opened two attacks against the castle, the principal one from the country to the north, and the other from the town on the west. Erecting new batteries, his skilful engineer maintained an incessant fire on the escarp, and gradually rent a large opening, whilst simultaneously he pushed his approaches. On the 29th, after thirteen days' hard siege-work, he reached the covered way, and on November 3rd, having crowned it, began to mine.

During these operations Prince Henry made an excellent artillery defence; but, by the overwhelming fire of the attackers, his guns were gradually silenced, and at the beginning of November he had only three in an effective state. His small garrison had also suffered considerably from the French fire and from sickness, and his provisions were almost expended.

It was not till October 29th that Galway had completed all the necessary arrangements connected with his train, baggage and supplies, and was ready to move. On that day he decamped from Tarraga, and advanced to Las Borjas near the left bank of the Segre. Hitherto Orléans had held his headquarters at Balaguer; but on receiving news of Galway's approach he abandoned that town (which the miquelets at once occupied), withdrew across the Segre the investing troops that had been posted on its left bank, broke up his bridges, and organized a covering army, composed of sixty squadrons and twenty-eight battalions, and numbering 14,000 good troops. Of this force Berwick took command, and drew them up on the right bank with a view to prevent the passage of the river.

To attempt such a feat with his small force (largely consisting of Portuguese) in the face of the Bourbon preparations would have been madness on the part of

the English general, though by that means only could Lerida be relieved; but he determined to reconnoitre and to communicate with Prince Henry. Expecting to be attacked by Berwick, he took up a strong position at Las Borjas, and on November 1st drew up his army in battle array. In so doing he again adopted the plan (advantageously employed at Almanza) of intermixing foot with the horse, and each squadron was flanked on either side by a company of fifty miquelets.

On the 6th he advanced with fourteen squadrons, and arrived close to the left bank of the Segre, within sight of the castle. By means of a brave scout, who managed to break through the French lines and to enter the castle, he communicated by signals with the Prince, who informed him that the garrison was greatly reduced, and that all the victuals, except bread and water, were exhausted. Seeing that the place must soon fall, and not doubting that the defenders would be saved, Galway regretfully signalled his inability to relieve them, and retired to his camp at Las Borjas, where, while threatening Berwick, he remained till the conclusion of the siege.

By the evening of the 10th the French mines were ready for explosion; and on that day the Prince, having consumed his provisions, determined to treat. Accordingly he beat the *chamade*, and on being accorded the honours of war, capitulated. On the 14th the brave garrison, diminished to 600 men fit for duty, with the Prince and Wills at their head, marched out through the breach to join Galway at Cervera. According to military custom, the troops defiled before Orléans; and the Prince, after saluting him and advancing a few paces, turned round and joined him. The generous Frenchman received the young Austrian

leader with much warmth, complimented him on his fine defence, and, as a mark of esteem, granted him three pieces out of the captured ordnance. During the siege the French loss was very considerable, but it has not been recorded.

Placing the bulk of his troops in winter quarters between the Cinca and the Segre, Orléans detached D'Arènes with 5,000 men to besiege Morella in northern Valencia; and afterwards, having established his own headquarters at Saragossa, he left for Madrid, where he was very cordially received. At the same time Galway and the Allies retired into winter quarters at Reuss and Tarragona; whilst a strong garrison was placed in Tortosa.[1] But Morella defended by 500 regulars and 500 miquelets (all Spanish), made an excellent resistance; and it was not till December 17th, and after Berwick himself had been obliged to proceed to the siege to direct the operations, that the governor submitted with the honours of war. On its capture the French marshal departed to Madrid, and soon afterwards to France, whence he did not return during the war.[2]

[1] From the subjoined extract from a letter written by Cornet Cope of the Royal Dragoons to Lord Raby, the Colonel (then ambassador at Berlin), it will be seen that, in spite of the severe discouragement which this year had attended the Allied arms, Lord Galway and his officers did not omit to keep up their spirits:—"Reous, January 16th, 1708. . . . Colonel St. Pierre, about three weeks ago, when My Lord Galway reviewed our Regiment, was pleased to give me an extreme kind character. . . . My Lord Galway lay that night here in Reous at Major-General Carpenter's quarters, where the Major-General made a sort of a Ball, and we young officers masked ourselves, which diverted My Lord very much, who sent for us in to drink punch with him till 'twas very late. After His Lordship was gone to bed I staid with Count Nassau, Colonel Goring [of Harvey's] and several others, and we were very merry. . . . My Lord Galway made a Ball about a week ago at Tarragona, whither we of this Town were invited."

[2] In 1710, 1711 and 1712, Berwick won great reputation

This year the Portuguese ministry raised a separate force for the defence of their borders, and placed it under the Marquis De Frontreira. In June they were joined by four English regiments newly sent from Cork, who formed a division under the command of Major-General De Montandre;[1] but during the short defensive campaign that ensued no events of importance took place. On the side of Andalusia, the Spanish general D'Ossuna took Serpa and Moura, each badly held by Portuguese, who surrendered as prisoners.

In September Bay invested Ciudad Rodrigo, in which was a Portuguese governor with a garrison of 1,800 regulars. The chief engineer was Major-General (late Colonel) Carles, who had joined the Portuguese service, and at the time was improving the fortifications of the place. After a siege of fifteen days Bay made a breach and summoned the commandant, giving him (according to the Bourbon account) three hours to consider the matter. At the expiration of that period, no reply having been received, the Spanish general assaulted the breach, and being unexpected, captured the place together with its defenders. But the Portuguese state

by his excellent defence of the Dauphiné frontier of France against the Imperialists. In 1734, at the siege of Philipsburg, at the age of sixty-four, he was killed by a cannon-shot whilst standing at the head of the sap. His knowledge of the art of war has been seldom surpassed; but his extreme caution debarred him from the *status* of a general of the first rank. He was disliked both by the French Court and by his soldiers.

[1] These regiments were Thomas Pearce's (afterwards the 5th), Newton's (afterwards the 20th), Sankey's (afterwards the 39th), and Stanwix's. Sankey's was the last-numbered of the twelve undisbanded regiments of British foot raised during the reign of Queen Anne. From a detailed official MS., dated January 1st, 1712-13 (O.S.), discovered in the Egerton Collection (2618, f. 205), there is reason to believe that all these corps have been misplaced in precedence, and that the so-called 35th, 36th and 39th regiments are in reality the 28th, 29th and 31st respectively.

that an agreement had been made with him that the fortress should not be attacked till an answer had been sent; and (as a matter of fact) when the Spaniards entered, the governor and his officers were still debating as to the advisability of making terms.[1]

[1] Stowe Coll., Richards, XXVI. 137; XXVII. 138; XXVIII. 139. Eg. Coll., Galway, 891, f. 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 26, 28-29. Add. Coll., Strafford, 22131, f. 44, 52; 31134, f. 399, 419, 421, 453, 456: Ordnance, 5795, f. 307: Leake, 5443, f. 5. Lond. Gaz., May 8-12, 29-June 2, July 10-14, Oct. 30-Nov. 3, 1707; Jan. 26-29, 1708. Boyer, VI. 26, 31, 71-106, 128-132, 372, 380-3; IX. App. 107-8. Impartial, 9, 12-14, 246, 249, 255. Burnet, 811, 815. Jas. Stanhope, App. 54, 56, 57, 59, 61-63. Coxe, II. 82-83, 87. Murray, V. 597. Calendars [1714-19], CCVI. 7; CCXIV. 6. Cannon, 5th Regt. 22; 20th Regt. 7; 39th Regt. 34, 105. Quincy, V. 414-424, 426-443, 448-9. Berwick, I. 29-32, 372-9. Targe, V. 113-114, 117-118. St. Simon, V. 322. Limiers, VIII. 152-4. Lett. Hist. 460, 567-8, 664-5. Larrey, III. 348. Lamberty, V. 160. Millot, II. 407-411. Tindal, XVI. 412-414. Cunningham, II. 110. Tessé, II. 262-275. Campbell, III. 320, 327; IV. 472.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SIEGE OF TORTOSA.

COLONEL WADE had been sent home with the news of the defeat at Almanza; yet on hearing it the English ministers were by no means cast down. It was their hope that success in the great expedition against Toulon, for which they had devised measures in concert with the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, would amply compensate for the failure in Spain. But they agreed that the time had arrived when the war in that country could be maintained more advantageously by transporting Imperial soldiers from Italy, and by contributing to their subsistence, than by the long and costly process of sending troops from England and Holland. Reinforcements could be thrown into Catalonia more rapidly from Genoa than from Portsmouth; and the French having been expelled from Italy, the German troops hitherto employed there could conveniently be spared for Spain. With this new policy the Emperor and King Charles readily concurred, and it was decided that in future Germans should form the main element of the Allied army in Spain; whilst the Portuguese, on whom no reliance could be placed, should be relegated to the defence of

their own frontiers. Thus, so far from disheartening the Austrian powers, the reverse at Almanza merely acted as a thunderstorm, by which the military atmosphere was cleared, and rendered more efficient for the exercise of the Allied arms.

To lead the troops in Spain it was wisely resolved to appoint a German general, and long before the battle Galway had strongly urged that Prince Eugene should be nominated to this post. Ever since the capture of Madrid the English commander had felt that his own advanced age, wounds and infirmities precluded him from taking part in much further active warfare; and since the battle he had become blind of one eye and partially deaf. Accordingly the ministers, who warmly acknowledged his undaunted spirit and great services, and fully recognized the difficulties of the position in which they had placed him, decided that he should now be relieved.

For the chief command the general chosen by the Emperor was Field-Marshal Von Staremberg;[1] and to replace Galway at the head of the English contingent the officer selected by Marlborough was Major-General Stanhope, who was awarded the local rank of lieutenant-general, whilst (being personally

[1] *Count Guido Von Staremberg* was born in 1657. At the great defence of Vienna in 1683 he served as aide-de-camp to his cousin, Field-Marshal Ernest Rudiger, Count Von Staremberg. Since then he had seen much service in the Imperial wars. In 1702, at the battle of Luzzara, he commanded the left wing of the Germans, and in the following year succeeded Prince Eugene as leader of the Imperial army in Lombardy, when he made a skilful march through the territories of Parma and Piacenza (occupied by the French) to join the Duke of Savoy in Piedmont. On the conclusion of the war in Italy he was employed in quelling the insurrection in Hungary. Among the Imperial generals he enjoyed a reputation only second to that of Prince Eugene. His character was one of much uprightness and modesty.

acceptable to Charles) he still held his post as envoy. As regards Galway, notwithstanding his crippled state and urgent wish to retire, the ministers resolved to retain him as commander-in-chief in Portugal, with the added dignity of ambassador to the Court of that country. In December he received his new commissions, and on February 9th, 1708 (on the arrival of the first instalment of German troops from Italy), in company with Erle, his old comrade Das Minas, 1,800 Portuguese troops and a Catalan regiment, he embarked on board the fleet and sailed for Lisbon.

The Imperialists brought to Catalonia consisted of 3,000 Germans and 1,200 Italians, under the command of Count Esseren and Major-General Coppe. But it was not till the end of April that Staremberg landed in Spain; and a few days before his arrival the ambitious and disloyal Noyelles (who since the departure of Galway and Das Minas had been recognized as the Allied generalissimo) died at Barcelona. At the beginning of May Stanhope joined the army from England, where, in the performance of his parliamentary duties, he had passed the winter; and during this month Staremberg took the field with an army of 10,200 men, comprising 3,000 Germans, 3,000 Spaniards, 2,000 English, 1,200 Dutch and 1,000 Portuguese. He collected these forces near Valls, and there awaited the arrival of a second reinforcement of Germans shortly expected from Italy. With their aid he hoped to relieve the fortress of Tortosa, which Orléans was about to besiege. The English force commanded by Stanhope comprised 1,000 horse, 800 foot, and a train, who were under Carpenter, Wills and Michael Richards respectively.[1]

[1] For his services at Lerida, Wills had been promoted. The English troops were Harvey's Horse; the Royal, Pepper's (late

The Spanish troops were led by Count Uhlfeldt, and the Dutch by the Huguenot major-general Belcastel; whilst the Portuguese (being in English pay) were directed by Stanhope.

At Saragossa Orléans had been engaged in preparing for the siege of Tortosa, whilst his second in command, Lieutenant-General De Bézons, whose troops were in Catalonia, had already waged some minor skirmishes with those of the Allies. On the 9th Orléans joined him at Caudasmos, where the siege train was being collected, and on June 11th they advanced with a large force and commenced the investment of Tortosa.[1] Next day, on the arrival of D'Asfeld from Valencia with 8,000 men and nineteen heavy guns, this operation was completed. The Bourbon army now numbered 22,000 men, the greater part being French.

Tortosa was a fortress somewhat resembling Lerida, though of less size and strength, but by the exertions of Colonel Lewis Petit, aided by Captain La Mouline, its fortifications had been recently improved. The governor was Count Esseren, and the strength of the garrison was 3,200 regulars, besides 1,000 miquelets. The former were composed of three battalions of Dutch, three of Germans, and two of Spanish and Portuguese. There was also a good armament, and the place was fairly provided with food.

On the 21st, after throwing a bridge over the Ebro,

Killigrew's), Nassau's (late Peterborough's) and a few of Guiscard's Dragoons; Southwell's and Wade's Foot. The other regiments temporarily reformed by Galway had been sent home to recruit and refit. Harvey, Southwell and Wade were in England, and about this time Southwell retired from the service.

[1] On June 1st Lieutenant-General Gaetano, at the head of the Bourbon van, surprised at Falcete an outlying Austrian force under the German lieutenant-colonel Desbordes, consisting of 150 horse and 700 foot (chiefly Imperialists), and took 500 of them prisoners.

Major-General Branconelli (the chief engineer) began his attack. The Allies then opened a brisk fire, by which the French lost many men and Major-General De Mouchant was killed. On the night of the 24th Esseren made a sortie on the siege batteries, but two days afterwards the Bourbons cannonaded the place from sixteen guns, besides mortars. Petit replied with spirit, and on the other side Orléans stimulated his gunners by much *largesse*. At daybreak on the 27th Esseren made a sally with 800 men in two columns, who drove out the guards, filled up part of the trenches, and retired in good order. On the 30th Branconelli began to construct breaching works, from which, on July 4th, he rent the walls. Three days afterwards one of his batteries was set in flames, and the defenders having concentrated a heavy fire on it, the French troops suffered severely.

On the 8th Orléans had sapped to within fourteen yards of the counterscarp, whilst twenty-seven guns were piercing the escarp; and the next night he assailed and carried the covered way. However for an hour and a half the Austrians poured on it a shower of projectiles, after which Esseren made a determined sortie, in which, being seconded by musketry and grenades, he effected considerable injury; and on its conclusion Petit sprang with good effect one of the charges which he had placed under the covered way. All night Esseren maintained a galling fire, and in the morning exploded another mine, which caused heavy loss to the Bourbon troops.

Nevertheless the breach was broad, practicable and ready to be stormed, and the Austrian general felt himself unable to meet an assault successfully; moreover he wished to save the inhabitants from the sword; his provisions were running low, and there was no

appearance of Staremberg's approach. Accordingly on the morning of the 10th, having called a parley, he surrendered with honour; and on the 15th the garrison, reduced to 2,000 men, were conducted to Barcelona. Among the losses they had sustained was that of the engineer La Mouline, who was severely wounded, and shortly afterwards died. The French casualties were about 1,500.

It was not till fifteen days after the capitulation that the fleet arrived with the troops from Italy. They consisted of 2,200 horse and 3,600 foot, and on being joined by them, Staremberg advanced to Cervera, where he took up a good position. Orléans retreated to Agramont, about eight miles distant, and there intrenched himself; for at this time, on account of Marlborough's successes in Flanders, the Bourbon army in Spain was considerably reduced, most of the French troops being recalled to fight nearer home; besides D'Asfeld was obliged to return to Valencia to prosecute the sieges of Denia and Alicant. For three months the two armies continued to watch each other from their strong camps, and at the end of this period retired into winter quarters; the Bourbons resting about Lerida and the frontier, and the Austrians at Reuss and Tarragona. Orléans then relinquished his command and set out for France.[1]

In December Staremberg formed the project of attempting to recover Tortosa by surprise, the place at that time being partially denuded of troops and artillery. On the night of the 2nd, accompanied by Stanhope, he set out from Reuss at the head of 2,500 Germans and 500 English, all chosen men, whom he divided into three bodies under the respective commands of Count

[1] In 1715, on the death of Louis XIV., Orléans became Regent of France.

Eck, Count Esseren and Lieutenant-General Wetzel. At 3 a.m., without being discovered, he arrived within sight of Tortosa, and launched his columns simultaneously against three separate gates. Eck, with whom were the English, successfully carried the out-works of the San Juan gate, which he then endeavoured to break with hatchets; but the defenders were aroused, and the assaulters were met by a heavy fire of musketry. After a warm engagement, lasting two hours, the Count was obliged to abandon the attempt, and to intrench himself in some buildings outside the main walls.

Esseren had attacked the Temple gate, but being repulsed, had led his troops to support Wetzel at the Remolino one, where a great portion of the detachment managed to enter. They were then charged by the Spaniards and driven out; but Major-General De Bellancour, the governor, was killed. Major-General Longchamps, who took his place, continued to make a vigorous resistance, and Wetzel (like Eck) was soon compelled to fortify himself in the suburbs. Musketry engagements were carried on all the next day between the Bourbons and the two intrenched parties of Austrians; but at nightfall Staremberg withdrew his troops, and retired to his winter quarters, bringing with him fifty-nine prisoners. The loss on each side in killed and wounded was about 400 men.

In May this year Noailles had marched from Perpignan with 7,000 French (who were strengthened by 3,000 Spanish militia) intending to join Orléans. But Prince Henry, who now commanded the Allies in the Ampurdan, numbering 4,000 regulars (including Germans, Spanish, Dutch and Portuguese), had established a strong camp on the Ter, from which he successfully defended the province, and foiled all the

attempts made by Noailles to advance. At the end of June, a large number of his troops having been recalled, the French general retreated to Rousillon.[1]

[1] Lord Egmont's MSS. [1697-1709]. Eg. Coll., Galway, 891, f. 19, 21, 24, 32. Add. Coll., Ordnance, 5795, f. 313-318: Strafford, 22231, 70; 31134, f. 495, 503, 507, 561. Lond. Gaz., Jan. 3-6, 17-20, Feb. 5-9, 1708. Boyer, VI. 27; VII. 42-43, 178-184, 341-2, 382. Impartial, 13-17, 248-252, 257. Burnet, 820. Cunningham, II. 127, 148, 202, 340-2. Coxe, II. 86-89, 114, 347-8. Lediard's Life of Marlborough, II. 226. Murray, V. 642. Jas. Stanhope, App. 54, 65-69, 80-85. Cannon, 2nd Dragoon Guards, 33; 3rd Lt. Dragoons, 25; 4th Lt. Dragoons; 2nd Regt. 53; 9th Regt. 21; 11th Regt. 23; 17th Regt. 14; 36th Regt. 110. Calendars [1708-14], 129. Cartwright, 281. Quincy, VI. 53-86, 93-98, 102-107. St. Simon, VI. 232-3, 367. Colbert, 261. Lamberty, IV. 579; V. 160-164. Limiers, VIII. 211-13. Larrey, III. 361-3. Lett. Hist. XXXIII. 645; XXXIV. 241-3. Millot, II. 420-4. Pollnitz's memoirs [1745], III. 91. Tindal, XVII. 69-72, 79. Somerville, 322-3. Campbell, III. 328-9, 354-362, 372-3; IV. 79.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Capture of Minorca.

In 1708, for the naval campaign in the Mediterranean, Sir John Leake (now admiral of the fleet) was appointed commander-in-chief. Under him were Vice-Admiral Sir John Norris, Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Whitaker, and Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy;[1] whilst Vice-Admiral Wassenaer commanded the Dutch. In April the fleet arrived at Lisbon, where Leake conferred with Galway, and was joined by Captain Hicks with the squadron from Barcelona.[2]

In May the admiral departed, and on the 26th arrived at Barcelona, where soon afterwards a grand council was held in the presence of Charles. According to its resolutions Leake sailed for Italy, partly to bring over the second reinforcement of Imperialists, and partly to escort to Barcelona Charles's future Queen. This was the young Princess Elizabeth of Wolfenbuttel, to whom during the winter Charles (by proxy) had become betrothed. At the end of July she arrived in Leake's flagship at Mataro, and on

[1] Norris had been flag-captain to Sir Cloudesley at Barcelona; Whitaker had distinguished himself at the surprise of Gibraltar; and Hardy had taken home the despatches after the affair at Vigo.

[2] On December 14th Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Dilkes, who had been in command of this squadron, died at Leghorn.

August 1st, after entering Barcelona with Charles in state, was married to him in the cathedral amidst great rejoicings.

It was then decided that two important naval expeditions should be undertaken, namely, for the capture of Sardinia and Minorca. The former was a large, fertile island; and in its capital, Cagliari, existed a good fortified harbour conveniently near Italy; whilst the possession of the latter had long been an object with the English ministry; for its capacious port of Mahon was a haven which would conveniently replace Lisbon as a winter station for the Allied squadrons. On board the fleet was embarked, under Major-General Wills, a force of 1,000 Spaniards and 600 English marines. With them went the partisan leader Cifuentes, who, in the event of the expedition being successful, was to assume the viceroyalty of Sardinia. On August 11th the fleet arrived off Cagliari, which constituted a fortress of some strength, with a bastioned *enceinte* and a large armament, whilst the town contained 40,000 inhabitants. The Bourbon viceroy was the Marquis De Jamaica, to whom Leake despatched a summons; but he declined to reply till the expiration of twenty-four hours.

During the night the admiral threw a few shells into the place, and in the morning Wills landed with the troops (to whom were added a battalion of 900 seamen) on the east side of the town. Norris was ordered to take in seven ships to cannonade the fortifications; but before he could do so, the viceroy, urged by the inhabitants, sent off a flag of truce, and soon afterwards the small garrison, having been granted the honours of war, surrendered. Wills and the marines then re-embarked, whilst Cifuentes was installed as viceroy, the Spanish troops being left under his com-

mand. The states of the island had offered to supply 1,400 tons of corn for the Allied army in Catalonia, and soon afterwards this valuable cargo was shipped for Barcelona. The admiral now sailed for Minorca, and whilst cruising off that island awaited the arrival of Stanhope with additional troops.

For the attack of Mahon, the English general had concerted measures with Staremberg (who heartily assisted him), and had collected 800 Spaniards, 600 English (Southwell's regiment) and 600 Portuguese, to whom would afterwards be added Wills's 600 marines. With the expedition was Brigadier-General (late Colonel) Wade; the chief engineer was Brigadier-General (late Colonel) Lewis Petit; and Colonel Borgard commanded the train, which consisted of ten guns and a few mortars. On September 2nd the general embarked on board the "Milford," commanded by his brother, Captain Philip Stanhope, and on the 13th joined Leake and the fleet off Mahon. Next day the troops landed near that town, when its inhabitants came in and delivered up the place, which apart from its citadel, Fort St. Philip, was unprotected on the land side. Preparations were then made to attack this fort, which formed the key of the harbour defences.

Besides Mahon, Citadella (in the west), the capital of the island, and the port of Fornelle (in the north-east), were also partly fortified, and would have to be reduced. Against the former Stanhope sent a detachment of 400 men, on whose arrival the few defenders at once yielded themselves prisoners. To Fornelle, Leake dispatched the "Dunkirk," 70, Captain Butler, and the "Centurion," 50, Captain Fairborne. At this place was a tower mounting twelve guns, and guarded by fifty men, who made an excellent resistance; and it was only after four hours' hard fighting (during which the "Cen-

turion" was greatly mauled) that they were obliged to submit.

Fort St. Philip was a strong square work, regularly traced with bastions and ravelins, and situated on a neck of land west of the harbour of Mahon, which was also defended by two other forts of lesser importance. Across the isthmus, and forming an advanced line, was a wall of dry stone, nine feet high, flanked by four old towers at gunshot intervals, each mounting four pieces. The garrison of St. Philip was 1,000 men, of whom 500 were French marines, and the remainder Spaniards; the governor was the French colonel La Jonquière; and the place was well furnished with artillery and provisions. On the part of the attackers, the principal business lay in the landing of the guns and ammunition, and in their conveyance to the site selected for the attack; for a road had to be made over difficult ground; and it was nine days before the batteries could be commenced. To the small train brought by Stanhope, Leake had added thirty-two guns and several mortars from the fleet; for St. Philip, if well defended, could offer a powerful resistance. On account of the advanced season of the year, it was deemed advisable to send home as many of the ships as could be spared. Accordingly, on the 19th, having allotted seventeen vessels to Whitaker, with orders to support Stanhope in his attack, Leake with the remainder sailed for England.[1]

[1] Sir John Leake did not return to the Mediterranean. In 1709 he was appointed Rear-Admiral of the Kingdom and First Commissioner of the Admiralty, offices which he held till 1714, when he retired on a pension. He died at Greenwich in 1720, at the age of sixty-four, and was buried in Stepney churchyard. Perhaps to him, more than to any other commander, whether naval or military, King Charles was indebted for the principal successes that accrued to the Austrian arms during the war in Spain.

On the night of the 23rd Petit began to construct a work for nine guns in front of the advanced wall, and five days afterwards Borgard commenced fire on two towers and their intervening curtain. In two hours the nearer tower was battered into ruins, the guns of the farther one were silenced, and two openings were pierced in the curtain. The breaches were then assaulted simultaneously, the storming party on the right being led by Stanhope, and that on the left by Wade. The enemy made but a slight resistance, abandoned the whole line, and retreated into the fort. In the onset the Allies lost forty men, and amongst the killed was Captain Philip Stanhope.

A lodgment was at once made among the houses of the town near the glacis of St. Philip, against which, during the night, Petit traced a battery. In the morning however La Jonquière unaccountably agreed to capitulate with military honours; and on October 2nd the Bourbons embarked on board the transports. Including the defenders of Citadella and Fornelle, the total number that surrendered comprised 540 French and 560 Spaniards. Southwell's regiment and 200 marines were placed in St. Philip as a garrison; and to mark his sense of the good services of Petit throughout the war, Stanhope appointed him governor of Mahon and commandant of the troops, a Spanish civilian being nominated viceroy of the island for King Charles.[1]

Shortly afterwards, with the remainder of the soldiers, Stanhope, Wills and Wade returned to Barcelona, whilst Whitaker sailed for Italy to bring thence a third detachment of Imperialists. By the capture of

[1] In 1715 Brigadier-General Lewis Petit was chief engineer of the army in Scotland that fought against the Pretender. He died in 1720.

Minorca the Austrian cause gained a great advantage;[1] and the acquisition of this island, with that of Sardinia, more than counterbalanced the loss of Lerida and Tortosa.[2]

[1] In reference to the importance of Minorca, Stanhope wrote to Sunderland (the Secretary of State) strongly urging that (like Gibraltar) the fortress of Mahon should be maintained at the expense of the English Government. "England," he said, "ought never to part with this island, which will give the law to the Mediterranean both in time of war and peace." Acceding to these views, the English ministers soon afterwards sent out a strong train for the armament of Mahon, which was placed under Colonel Peter Durand, who arrived from Catalonia as chief engineer; and under his direction the fortifications were greatly strengthened. It may here be noted that it was not till after Malta had fallen into British hands that Minorca was restored to Spain; and if at the present time that nation could be induced to return it to Great Britain in exchange for Gibraltar (as was proposed by Pitt in 1757), there is little doubt that both countries would gain much benefit.

[2] State, Ireland, King's letters [1714-16], 5. Add. Coll., Strafford, 22231, f. 74, 76, 78, 81: Leake, 5443, f. 168: Ordnance, 5795, f. 335-340. Boyer, VII. 184, 188-192. Jas. Stanhope, App. 69, 71-76, 78-83, 89. Stephen Leake, 352-376, 387. Burnet, 831. Cunningham, II. 232. Coxe, II. 349-350. Duncan, I. 94. Luttrell, VI. 363, 371. St. Simon, VII. 4. Millot, II. 421-2. Tindal, XVII. 69-71, 74-78. Campbell, III. 363-367; IV. 90.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Defence of Alicant.

In Valencia D'Asfeld had resolved to renew the siege of Denia, and on November 1st his advanced force of twelve squadrons and eight battalions encamped before that town. Next day he himself arrived, invested the place, and commenced his attack. Including the troops brought from Tortosa, his whole army was not less than 12,000 regulars, who were accompanied by a train of twenty-four guns and five mortars.

Perceval, who for his gallant conduct in the first defence had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, was still commandant of the castle, and Chardeloup was the engineer; but Ramos had left the place,[1] and Valero (who had ably defended Carthagena) was now governor and in charge of the troops in the town. The latter consisted of two parts, lower and upper, separated from each other by a wall. The upper portion was adjacent to the castle, and was defensible after the lower, or town proper, had

[1] Subsequently to his magnificent defence of Denia in 1708, no information can be found regarding the career of Major-General Basset-y-Ramos.

been captured; yet the castle itself was weak and without bomb-proofs. Its garrison was 227 officers and men, comprising fifteen gunners under a lieutenant, and 200 marines (from Seymour's, Wills's, Borr's and Holt's regiments), who were commanded by three captains and six subalterns. The number of the Spanish troops and miquelets for the defence of the town has not been recorded; it is probable however that they were less numerous than at the first siege. The place was well provided with artillery and stores, though not with victuals. About October 10th Perceval had despatched one of his captains to Barcelona to inform Stanhope of the expected siege, but no steps had been taken for the relief of the place.

By November 7th D'Asfeld had brought his approaches to about forty yards from the town walls, and two days afterwards, the communication by sea not having been cut off, Perceval sent to Alicant for assistance. On the 11th Richards embarked therefrom in boats 200 Spaniards and 150 miquelets, with bread and stores. Some of the troops arrived during the night, but the others not till the next morning.

On the 10th D'Asfeld had begun to batter the walls, and in two days had made a partial breach, which, just as the first boats arrived, he assaulted and carried. There being a sheer depth of twelve feet below it, Valero, thinking it impracticable, had not taken the necessary precautions to secure it, and being taken by surprise, was obliged to retreat with his troops into the upper ward. According to his usual custom, D'Asfeld put to the sword all whom he found in the town, after which he established batteries against the higher walls. On the 18th a large breach was made in them, when Valero and Perceval, being short of provisions—and the small

castle by itself being quite untenable—were obliged, after a good defence of seventeen days, to surrender as prisoners of war.[1]

D'Asfeld then advanced against Alicant, which was the last of the Valencian strongholds remaining in the hands of the Allies. He sent forward a detachment under Major-General Ronquillo, who appeared before the place on November 28th and invested it; and two days afterwards the French general arrived with the rest of the army. He had now 14,000 men (mostly French) and a numerous train of artillery.

Since his appointment to the governorship in March, 1707, Major-General John Richards had devoted much attention to the armament of the castle and to the improvement of its defences, the expense of which had been defrayed by the English government. His chief engineer was Captain Pierre De Pagez, who was aided by Captain Robert Latham. Under the direction of Pagez casemated barracks had been constructed, and a large tank hollowed out of the solid rock. The castle was well supplied with artillery, ammunition and food, and, except by mining, was impregnable. But the town fortifications, never strong, had been maintained at the expense of King Charles, and their condition at this time was very inefficient, nor were they even armed with cannon; whilst the only troops available for their defence were 400 Spaniards and 800 miquelets. The garrison of the castle, numbering 800 men, consisted of Hotham's English, under Lieutenant-Colonel Thornicroft, Syburg's Hu-

[1] Among the officers thus captured was a volunteer named Captain George Carleton, who had been acting as an assistant engineer. In 1728 a work purporting to be his "Memoirs," and describing the War in Spain, was published in London. For an inquiry into the history, nature and authorship of this production, see Note C.

guenots, under Colonel Frederick Syburg, and an English train.[1] As senior officer under Richards, Syburg commanded the English troops, whilst his lieutenant-colonel, Balthazar D'Albon, was in immediate charge of his regiment. Already Richards had repeatedly written to Stanhope urging him to send reinforcements; and on November 20th he wrote again, stating that Denia had fallen, and that Alicant was about to be attacked.

On December 1st D'Asfeld commenced operations against the place, and assaulted a portion of the weak suburbs, carrying it without difficulty. Next day, in a similarly easy manner, he captured other buildings close to the town walls. Seeing that outside the castle no proper resistance could be offered to the overwhelming forces of the Bourbons, Richards wisely agreed to surrender the town, on condition that the Spanish troops should march out with the honours of war and be conducted to Catalonia, and that the inhabitants should be treated in all respects as if they had never revolted. To these terms D'Asfeld consented, and the town was given up.

The French general then closely blockaded the castle, and knowing that battering would be useless, commenced to mine it. For three months, with unwearying resolution, he pushed a gallery through the west side of the base of the rock on which the castle was built nearly 200 feet above. During this time Richards harassed him with artillery and musketry, but the defenders being too few to make sorties with any chance of success, he was powerless to arrest the

[1] In Cannon's official records of the 31st Regiment and the Marine Corps, it is stated that the garrison consisted principally of marines; but this is a mistake, for none of them were present. On the other hand, no allusion is made to their services at Denia.

French progress. However, with the intention of mitigating the effects of the mine's explosion, Pagez sank a shaft through the parade, nearly over the supposed position of the chamber.

During January, 1709, Byng sailed from Lisbon to Mahon, and knowing that Alicant had been besieged since November, detached five men-of-war to touch there, to assure Richards of relief. On the 15th this squadron anchored in Alicant Bay; but the officer in command, finding the landing places well guarded by the works which D'Asfeld had constructed, gave up any attempt at communication, and without even cannonading them, sailed on to Mahon.

On February 25th Richards managed to send off a letter to Stanhope, expressing astonishment at not having received any succour, and informing him that he intended to stand the explosion of the enemy's mine. He also wrote to his brother Michael to the same effect, giving instructions where any troops that might be sent to his relief should land, and adding—"Goodnight, Micky. God send us a merry meeting."

The chamber D'Asfeld had excavated was loaded with 1,200 barrels of gunpowder, each containing a quintal, or 98 lbs. English, and thus the total amount was 117,600 lbs., which is, perhaps, the greatest single charge that has ever been used in war. On February 20th D'Asfeld summoned Richards to surrender, and invited him to send two officers to inspect the mine. He accordingly dispatched Pagez and Thornicroft, who reported that it was a *bonâ-fide* one, and ready to be sprung. Still the rock was honeycombed and traversed by various internal clefts, and it was not unreasonably hoped that these, with the shaft sunk by Pagez, would to a great extent render nugatory the effects of the blast. After carefully weighing the

reasons for and against holding out, Richards informed D'Asfeld that he would abide the springing of the mine. Three days before the time fixed for this event D'Asfeld made a second offer, and received the same reply; and on the night before, he made a last demand, which was equally ineffectual.

Early on the morning of Monday, March 3rd, Richards, accompanied by Syburg and Thornicroft, and attended by the senior officers of the garrison off duty, deliberately took up his station on the parade, under which the gallery had been driven. The casemates and castle buildings were at the east end of this plateau, and farthest from the mine, which (as already stated) had been pushed from the west face of the rock. At or near the sides of the parade were two guards, each of thirty men, which, for the safety of the castle, could not be withdrawn. The sentries being thus at their posts, and necessarily exposed to great danger, it was not, in the opinion of the noble-minded governor, a time for him to avoid it.

Shortly before six o'clock the people below were observed to be fleeing in crowds from that part of the town nearest the castle. Soon a slight smoke was seen ascending the face of the precipice, and the corporal of the adjacent guard cried out that the hose was lit. Almost at the stroke of six a convulsion shook the rock, and the parade was split by several long irregular fissures, which opened and immediately shut again. In these rifts the heroic Richards and many of the devoted officers around him were literally entombed alive, and with them the greater portion of the guards. Besides the governor, Syburg, Thornicroft and Major Vignoles, there perished by this dreadful death five captains, three lieutenants and forty-two soldiers.[1]

[1] It was at about the age of forty that John Richards performed

However this slaughter of a few gallant men constituted the sole advantage that accrued to D'Asfeld from the result of his prolonged labours. Beyond the shaking down of a few guns and one of the sides of the tank, no injury whatever was done to the castle, and the face of the rock nearest the mine was rendered even more inaccessible than before. The governorship devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel D'Albon, who, having replied to the explosion by a salvo from every gun and mortar he could bring to bear, placed his troops on reduced rations, and resolved to hold out till the arrival of the expected relief.

Meanwhile, since January 23rd, Byng with a squadron of eleven sail had remained at Mahon, and Stanhope at Barcelona, neither of them making any attempt to succour Alicant; for (unfortunately) they had come to the conclusion that nothing could be done to relieve Richards until the arrival of Whitaker from Italy with the German reinforcements. This did not occur till March 28th, when the rear-admiral reached Mahon with 3,500 troops. With these, on April 4th, Byng and Stanhope sailed for Majorca, where they embarked another German regiment, and then steered for Alicant, off which port they arrived on the 15th. It was now forty-three days after the death of Richards, of which event Stanhope was still in ignorance. During that time D'Albon and the garrison, reduced to 500 men, had held their post with a constancy worthy of their late governor, and still had provisions and water sufficient to sustain them three weeks longer.

this unrivalled deed of bravery. Probably there is no similar instance in war where, in order to inspire their men with confidence, a commander and his chief officers have coolly placed themselves immediately over a mine about to be exploded. In the days of the knights-errant nothing more daring was ever conceived.

The fleet under Byng numbered twenty-three sail of the line, and on the 16th he sent in the "Defiance," "Northumberland," "Essex," "York" and "Dunkirk" (all 70-gun ships) to cannonade D'Asfeld's earthen coast batteries. These replied effectively, and the "Dunkirk" suffered severely. During the night, owing to the wind freshening, the whole fleet was obliged to weigh and put to sea; and all next day there was a gale, which prevented the continuance of the attack.

On the 18th, without making any attempt, Byng and Stanhope decided that it was impracticable to land the troops, and that the best course to pursue was to yield the place and bring off the garrison. Accordingly, having sent in a flag of truce, they opened negotiations with D'Asfeld, and agreed, if the defenders were permitted to depart with the honours of war, to deliver up the castle. To this D'Asfeld readily assented, for the proposition was one to relieve him rather than D'Albon.[1] Hence, after a most gallant resistance of nearly five months' duration, the unconquered English garrison marched out, and embarked on board the ships, which returned to Mahon.[2]

Nevertheless it did not need the presence of a fleet of twenty-three sail of the line, carrying no less than 4,000 soldiers, 9,000 seamen and 1,400 heavy guns, to ensure D'Albon the honours of war, which at any time, by the surrender of the fortress, he or Richards could un-

[1] Since D'Asfeld's name does not again appear in the history of this war, it may here be mentioned that in 1715 he became the French director-general of fortifications, and in 1734, a marshal of France. He died in 1743. He was an able, cruel soldier, somewhat of Berwick's type, but more enterprising.

[2] In recognition of their good services, the colonelcy of Syburg's regiment was given to D'Albon and the rank of lieutenant-colonel to Pagez.

doubtedly have obtained; and, taking all the circumstances into account, the tactics of Stanhope and Byng were certainly of a very remarkable nature.[1]

[1] Lord Egmont's MSS. [1697-1709]. Treasury [1711], CXXXIII. 6. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXIX. 140. Add. Coll., Strafford, 31135, f. 19, 90. Lond. Gaz., May 26-30, 1709. Boyer, VII. 184; VIII. 96-97. Impartial, 259. Mag. Brit. Not. [1707], 557-573. Jas. Stanhope, 81, 85-86, 88-92. Cunningham, II. 203. Larrey, III. 379-380, 390. Lamberty, V. 163-4, 390. Lett. Hist. XXXIV. 243, 740-1; XXXV. 84-85, 348, 475-6, 592-5. Quincy, VI. 98-102, 256, 259. Targe, V. 266-9. St. Simon, VI. 367; VII. 188. Colbert, 321. Tindal, XVII. 69, 193-4. Campbell, IV. 392-7.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Combat on the Caya.

In 1708, except the marriage of King Juan with the Archduchess Maria Anne, sister of King Charles, nothing of importance had occurred in Portugal; and Galway, resting from his warlike labours, had mainly confined himself to diplomatic duties. In April, 1709, the Marquis De Frontreira, the Portuguese generalissimo, took the field near Campo Mayor. The Allied army consisted of 3,000 Portuguese horse, 9,200 foot of the same nation, 2,800 English foot, and a train. Despite his maimed and infirm state, Galway took command of the English, who were in two brigades under Major-Generals De Montandre and Sankey.[1]

In Estremadura, Bay had collected 5,000 horse and

[1] Montandre's brigade comprised Pearce's, Newton's, Sankey's and Paston's regiments; and Sankey's, those of Barrymore (late Pearce's Dragoons), Stanwix and Galway, the last being formed of Catalans commanded by English officers. Paston's and Barrymore's had been brought to Lisbon by Leake in April, 1708. The latter corps, which, as Pearce's Dragoons, had fought at Almanza, had been reformed at home as one of foot, under its old colonel, who was now present with them as a brigadier-general. Serving with the Portuguese army was Major-General Carles, who since his capture at Ciudad Rodrigo had been exchanged. As the combat on the Caya was the last important action in which he shared, it may be noted that in 1730 he died in London at the age of sixty-four.

10,000 foot, all Spanish. On May 3rd, having posted the latter at Atalaya del Rey, he advanced with his cavalry to the plain of Gudina, on the left bank of the Caya, about three miles from Aronches on the right, where Frontreira was encamped. His object was to tempt that commander to cross the river; and (sure enough) on the 7th, Frontreira, leaving behind the Portuguese infantry, advanced to the Caya near Gudina, and threw over it several pontoon bridges. Unlike Das Minas, he was not amenable to the direction of Galway, who had strongly advised him not to attack Bay. Yet he persisted in his resolution, and sent across the river all his horse, Montandre's brigade, and five guns, the whole numbering 4,700 men, whom he drew up on the plain, with the foot in the centre, and the cavalry on the wings.

Bay, who had watched these proceedings with considerable gratification, had already posted his 5,000 troopers in a position from which he could attack the Allies with advantage. At noon Frontreira opened fire from his five pieces; upon which, placing himself at the head of his left wing, Bay led a spirited charge against the Austrian right. The Portuguese horsemen acted as Galway had apprehended; for without waiting to come in contact with the Spaniards, they wheeled round (as at Almanza) and fled from the field, leaving their guns to be captured. Bay then attacked Montandre, who firmly repulsed three charges; when, finding his flank completely exposed, he retired in good order up the left bank of the river towards Aronches.

Galway had already sent forward Sankey's brigade to support Montandre and to recover the guns; but before they could do so, Bay attacked the Portuguese horse on the left, who at once followed the example of the right, and galloped to the rear. The

English foot were thus isolated in two bodies; and Sankey's small force, being completely surrounded by the Spanish horse, were obliged to surrender as prisoners. Galway, who had accompanied their advance, had his horse shot under him, and narrowly escaped capture; yet with the aid of his staff he managed to rejoin the Portuguese foot at Aronches, whither the horse had fled. Montandre with much ability retreated in square, and though attacked on all sides, arrived safely at the same place.[1]

On the 9th Frontreira retired to Elvas, and a few days afterwards Bay advanced in force, threatening Olivenca; but he found that Galway (whose advice Frontreira now followed) had made such skilful dispositions for defence, that he was unable to follow up his success; and the heats soon after coming on, both armies withdrew into summer quarters. So convinced however was the English general of the worthlessness of the Portuguese soldiers, that he would no more take the field with them, nor would he allow the English troops again to fight in their company.

In the action on the Caya about 500 men on each side were killed or wounded; whilst the Allies lost, in addition, eighty officers and 900 soldiers who were taken prisoners, besides five guns, their bridges and some camp equipment. Among the captured officers were Major-Generals Sankey and San Juan, Brigadier-Generals Thomas Pearce and Lord Barrymore, Colonel James Lays of Galway's and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Meredith of Stanwix's.

Early this year, chiefly on the representation of Galway, the idea of attacking Cadiz had again recom-

[1] In 1739 Montandre, who was then governor of Guernsey and master-general of the ordnance in Ireland, became a field-marshal; and he died the same year.

mended itself to the English ministers; and a joint expedition (the third destined for this object) was fitted out for the purpose, Major-General Wills being selected to command the land force, and Rear-Admiral John Baker the squadron. The English troops were nine regiments of foot and one of dragoons, numbering in all 5,000 men;[1] and it was arranged that Stanhope should co-operate from Catalonia, whence he would bring more soldiers and a siege train. The rendezvous was to be Gibraltar; and in August, accompanied by Brigadier-General Michael Richards (as chief engineer), Harrison's (late Southwell's) foot, a regiment of dismounted Spanish dragoons and an English train, Stanhope and Byng sailed for that port. They arrived on the 31st, but Wills and Baker were delayed by contrary winds.[2]

However during September advices were received from Galway that, with the number of troops available, the project was no longer feasible; for it had been ascertained that the enemy had made most extensive preparations for defence, and a rising of the people

[1] The troops consisted of Rochford's Dragoons, the 1st battalion of the Scots Guards, the Royal Fusiliers (reformed since the defence of Lerida), Whetham's (late Tiffin's, afterwards the 27th), Bowles's (reformed since Almanza), Dormer's (late Mohun's, reformed since Almanza), Munden's, Lepel's, Inchiquin's and Gore's. Whetham and Bowles (and probably also Munden and Inchiquin) were not present.

[2] Soon afterwards Sir George Byng returned home, and during the war did not again proceed to Spain. For several years he was one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty. In 1718, when again in command of the fleet in the Mediterranean, he engaged the Spanish navy off Cape Passaro, and completely defeated them. Created Viscount Torrington in 1721, he died in 1733, at the age of seventy. His fourth son, John, was the unfortunate admiral who, in 1757, not for cowardice or disaffection (for he was acquitted of these crimes), but solely for an error in judgment, was awarded the punishment of a traitor.

(which had been expected) was not at present likely to take place. Hence, on October 8th, when Wills and Baker arrived off Lisbon, they were directed by Galway to sail with Stanhope to Catalonia, where he considered they would be of much more value than in Portugal.

This year, at the head of 15,000 men, Staremberg maintained his strong position in Catalonia, and from Cervera and Momblanc continued to watch the Bourbons at Agramont. Bézons commanded about an equal number of troops (chiefly Spaniards), and in April sent a large detachment to besiege Benasque on the Noguera; but Lieutenant-General La Puebla made a brave defence with miquelets, and after a three months' siege the Bourbons were beaten off.

In July Staremberg, having been joined by the 3,500 men brought by Whitaker, made a forward movement and crossed the Segre, whereupon Bézons retreated over the Noguera. On the 27th the Austrian general invested the weakly-fortified town of Balaguer, garrisoned by three battalions (two French and one Spanish), who next day surrendered at discretion; and shortly afterwards he captured the small town of Ayer. On hearing of these reverses, King Philip left Madrid to remonstrate with Bézons; whereupon that general produced an order from King Louis forbidding him to risk his troops in a regular engagement. Soon afterwards Staremberg repassed the Segre, and then, leaving a garrison in Balaguer, placed his troops in winter quarters. Bézons followed his example; and during the ensuing autumn and winter, he and the whole of the French troops in Spain, except those in the Navarrese fortresses, were recalled to France.

On the side of the Ampurdan, Count Uhlfeldt this year had succeeded Prince Henry in command of the

Allies.[1] The principal events of the campaign were the capture in August, by Noailles, of the post of Figueras, and his surprise (by a night march) on September 1st, of Lieutenant-General Frankenberg's camp near Gerona. The latter affair was well managed, and the Austrian general was taken prisoner.[2]

[1] It is not known where Prince Henry was employed during this year; but a misunderstanding had arisen between him and Staremberg, and in 1710 he joined the Allies in Flanders as a general of horse. Next to his brother, no German officer during the war did better service for King Charles than the gallant defender of Lerida.

[2] Treasury [1710], CXXVII. 5. State [1706-14], Mil. Ent., IX. 90. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXXI. 142. Eg. Coll., Historical, 2618, f. 205. Add. Coll., Strafford, 31135, f. 17, 123, 128, 132, 135, 237. Lond. Gaz., Oct. 27-29, 1709. Boyer, VIII. 93-96, 106-108. Impartial, 15, 262. Jas. Stanhope, 95, 97, 101-2, 105-6, 108-110. Burnet, 844. Cunningham, II. 272. Coxe, II. 475, 477. Luttrell, VI. 587, 596. Duncan, I. 94. Hist. MSS. Comm., IX. 470a. Cartwright, 92. Cannon, 13th Regt., 119. Quincy, VI. 253, 259, 262-3, 268-275, 279. St. Simon, VII. 4. Larrey, III. 420. Lett. Hist., XXXVIII. 67. Millot, II. 463-4, 469-472. Tindal, XVII. 192-196. Campbell, IV. 398-401.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE COMBAT OF ALMENARA.

IN 1710, for securing his throne and resisting the Austrian invaders, Philip was obliged to rely solely on Spanish troops. After the battle of Oudenarde, when Vendôme had been relieved of the command of the French army in Flanders, the King had repeatedly applied for his services as commander-in-chief in Spain, but hitherto without effect. Hence in the spring of 1710, being without a French leader, he had selected for generalissimo the Marquis De Villadarias, who in 1704-5 had unsuccessfully besieged Gibraltar. In May the Bourbons assembled near Lerida, where Philip joined them from Madrid.

On the side of the Allies Staremberg had encamped between Balaguer and Agramont; and on the 29th Stanhope (returning through Italy from his political duties in England) arrived with a reinforcement of 1,000 Germans, which raised the strength of the Austrians to 4,300 horse and 14,200 foot. On June 10th, with an army of 6,000 cavalry and 16,000 infantry, Villadarias crossed the Segre and proceeded towards Agramont. Not deeming himself strong enough to

offer battle, Staremberg held his ground and threw up intrenchments. These Villadarias cannonaded for some time, though with little result, and then marched to Ibras; whereupon Staremberg, hoping to induce him to make a parallel movement, advanced across the Segre and Noguera, and passing into Arragon encamped near Portella. But on the 18th he learnt that the Bourbon general had detached a powerful column to cut him off from Balaguer, where he had left his baggage and supplies. Sending in front eight squadrons of horse and eight companies of grenadiers to delay the enemy, he himself with the main body followed with all diligence, and on the 24th, just in time to frustrate the Spanish general's design, regained his fortified position at Agramont. Villadarias again encamped near Lerida; and for a month the two armies remained inactive, watching each other.

In July a force of 4,600 Germans reached Barcelona from Italy in the fleet of Sir John Norris (who was then naval commander-in-chief); whilst about the same time a detachment of 1,400 Allied troops arrived there from the Ampurdan; and on the 26th these two bodies, having united under Wetzel, joined Staremberg at Agramont.[1] The army now collected under the Austrian standards mustered 4,900 horse and 19,600 foot, or altogether 24,500 men, besides a good train. Of these troops the Germans numbered 14,000; the English, 4,200; the Spanish, 3,500; the Dutch, 1,400;

[1] On the 24th, in order to aid the Cevennese revolters, the fleet from Barcelona under Norris, carrying 1,000 troops commanded by Major-General De Seissans, a French refugee, arrived before Cette in the Gulf of Narbonne. The soldiers landed, occupied the town, and marched to Agde, which surrendered; but on learning that Noailles with 2,000 men from Rousillon had reached the vicinity, they retreated to Cette. On the 30th they re-embarked and sailed away, having lost 112 men, who were taken prisoners.

and the Portuguese (in English pay), 1,400. The German general officers included Frankenberg, Wetzel, Eck, Esseren and Coppe. Under Stanhope Lieutenant-General Carpenter commanded the English horse, consisting of five regiments; Lieutenant-General Wills the foot, comprising eight battalions; and Brigadier-General Michael Richards the train. The brigades of cavalry were led by Major-General Pepper and Brigadier-Generals the Earl of Rochford and Count Francis of Nassau; and those of infantry, by Major-General Wade and Brigadier-General Gore. The adjutant-general was Colonel Thomas Harrison.[1] The Spanish troops were commanded by La Puebla; the Dutch by the Huguenot lieutenant-general Belcastel, and the Portuguese by D'Atayda.

With his increased army Staremberg resolved to take the offensive; and accordingly on the same day that Wetzel arrived, he again crossed the Segre and set forward with King Charles, to secure the pass of Alfaraz on the other side of the Noguera, about fifteen miles distant. In order to forestall Villadarias, he ordered Stanhope to advance with speed at the head of a force of twelve squadrons of dragoons under Carpenter, and twenty companies of grenadiers, six guns and a pontoon train under Eck.

On the 27th, having reached the Noguera unop-

[1] The English troops were Harvey's Horse; the Royal, Pepper's (with whom were incorporated the remains of Guiscard's), Nassau's and Rochford's Dragoons; the Scots Guards; and Harrison's (late Southwell's), Wade's, Bowles's, Dormer's, Munden's, Dalzell's and Gore's regiments of Foot. Harvey, Bowles, and probably Munden and Dalzell, were not present. Nassau's Dragoons had been raised by Peterborough at Valencia, in the summer of 1706, by detachments from existing regiments of foot and dragoons (the Royals furnishing a nucleus of four officers and fifty men). On his departure from Spain he had been deprived of the colonelcy, which was given to Nassau.

posed, Stanhope threw across it several bridges, and posted his horse advantageously on the Almenara heights above the right bank. As soon as he knew that Staremberg had moved, Villadarias and Philip had also decamped, and (as the marshal anticipated) had made straight for Alfaraz. But his design had been frustrated by Stanhope's rapid march, though it was only a few hours afterwards that the Bourbon van of nineteen squadrons appeared in sight, followed later on by their whole army. The foot halted out of fighting range, but all the available horse joined the advanced guard; and this force, numbering forty-two squadrons, or 4,200 men, was drawn up in a double line under Lieutenant-General the Duc De Sarno, on high ground fronting that occupied by the English General. Meanwhile Staremberg, with the main body of the Allies, arrived at the Noguera, and having crossed it, sent forward fourteen squadrons to strengthen Stanhope, who then arranged his men in two lines; but the ground being narrow, the right of each had to be thrown back. On the left of the first, under Carpenter, were six squadrons of Harvey's, Nassau's and Rochford's; in the centre were four Dutch; and on the right, under Frankenberg and Pepper, six German; whilst behind the latter were four English, comprising the Royal Dragoons and Pepper's, who had arrived late. In the second line were ten German and Dutch squadrons; and the total array of horse was 2,600 men; whilst to support them Staremberg drew up his foot in four lines in rear.

For some time the opposing forces watched each other without motion, for the hour was late, and it was not Staremberg's intention to commence an engagement. But at 7 o'clock, the English commander having earnestly pressed to be allowed to charge, Staremberg

gave him permission. Led by Stanhope and Carpenter, who placed themselves at the head of Harvey's two squadrons, the first line of the Allies at once dashed against the Bourbon horse. On the left the Spaniards almost immediately gave way, but their centre and right fought well, and their grenadiers supported them by a flanking fire. Nevertheless, after a short engagement, they were broken and driven back on the second line, who in turn were pushed on to the foot in rear. These, seized by a panic, retired to the main body drawn up across the road to Lerida; and soon Villadarias and Philip, with the whole Bourbon army, were in full retreat to that fortress, their rear being covered by the cavalry general Vallejo.

The victorious Austrian troopers pursued till dark, when, having taken many fugitives, they rejoined their army. In this action 978 Spaniards were killed or wounded, and 322 captured. Among the officers slain was the Duc De Sarno;[1] and the prisoners comprised Lieutenant-General Verboom. They also lost one gun, with some baggage, equipage and standards. On the side of the Allies the casualties were 400, of whom 208 were English. The young Brigadier-Generals Lord Rochford and Count Francis of Nassau, Lieutenant-Colonel Travers (of Rochford's) and four more English officers were killed; whilst Lieutenant-Colonel Poland

[1] As is alleged by some writers, it seems possible that Stanhope and Sarno may have met each other in single combat at the heads of their respective forces, and that Stanhope may have killed the Spanish general; but the evidence is doubtful, and the absence of any mention of the incident either by officers on the English general's staff who wrote from the field shortly after the battle, or by Colonel Crofts who brought home the despatches, tends to refute the supposition. Moreover it is not strengthened by the fact that the name of the slain leader is given as Amezaga, whereas that of the commander of the Bourbon horse, actually placed *hors de combat*, was certainly Sarno.

(of Harvey's) and twelve others were wounded. Rochford's death was caused by a sword-cut in the heat of the fight, and that of Count Francis by an unfortunate shot from the Allied guns as he was returning from the engagement.[1]

[1] Treasury [1710], CXXVII. 5. Eg. Coll., Historical, 2618, f. 205. Strafford, 31135, f. 125, 149, 181, 185, 201, 203, 207, 211, 215, 218, 229, 231, 233. Lond. Gaz., Aug. 10-12, 17-19, 1710. Boyer, IX. 79-94, 406. Impartial, 15. Jas. Stanhope, 112. Cunningham, II. 326. Luttrell, VI. 619. Quincy, VI. 418-421, 467-9. St. Simon, IX. 13-15. Colbert, 122. Targe, V. 424. Larrey, III. 420-5. Lamberty, VI. 158-162. Lett. Hist., XXXVIII. 312-332. Millot, III. 1-2, 10-14. Tindal, XVII. 286-7. Coxe, III. 153. Campbell, IV. 407, 412-20.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Battle of Saragossa.

Till August 12th Villadarias and Philip rested in their camp at Lerida. On that day, finding themselves no longer able to obtain subsistence, and it being out of their power to advance by reason of the superior army of the Allies which remained on the Noguera watching them, they retreated towards Fraga in the direction of Saragossa. Being dissatisfied with the conduct of Villadarias at Almenara, Philip had sent for Bay, who on the 15th arrived from Estremadura, and the former general then returned to Andalusia.

On the 2nd Staremberg sent a detachment to blockade Monzon, and another to secure the passage of the Cinca; and as soon as he heard that the Bourbons were on the road to Saragossa he pushed forward in pursuit. On his appearance before Fraga that place submitted; and meanwhile Balbastro, with several other Arragonese towns, were captured by Allied detachments, and garrisoned by miquelets. On the 15th the horse of the Austrian van overtook the enemy's rearguard at a defile near Penalva, where they had taken up a strong position. The Allies numbered twelve squadrons, composed of Germans, Spaniards and Portuguese. The

space being too narrow for the cavalry to extend, the dragoons on both sides fought on foot. The struggle was sharp and well-contested, but the Austrian attack was repulsed. Each side lost about 200 killed and wounded; and among the Germans Colonel Cordua was slain, whilst Colonel Colberg was taken prisoner.

On the 18th, having passed the Ebro, Bay encamped about a mile from Saragossa; and the same day Staremberg reached Osera. Stanhope and Carpenter then advanced with the horse to reconnoitre; and on their report the marshal determined to attack the enemy. At this time (the casualties at Almenara, Penalva, and in the campaign generally being allowed for) the Austrian army amounted to 23,500 men, comprising forty-two squadrons and forty-eight battalions, and consisting of 13,600 Germans, 4,000 English, 3,300 Spanish, 1,300 Dutch and 1,300 Portuguese. On the other hand the Bourbon army did not exceed 20,000 (all of whom were Spanish); the horse numbering 5,000, and the foot 15,000. Bay skilfully drew up his troops on a plain in front of Saragossa, with his left on the Ebro, and his right on the brow of a hill; whilst he sent off his baggage up the river in boats. On the 19th, having crossed by fords and pontoon bridges, the Allies arrived within long cannon-shot of the Bourbons; and during the night both forces rested on their arms.

Bay had disposed his troops in the ordinary double formation, with the foot in the centre, the horse on the flanks, and a proportion of guns in front. His line was slightly in echelon, the right (on the hill) being thrown forward. King Philip was not present with his soldiers; for having been seized by a slight fever, he remained in Saragossa. Staremberg's array was similar to that of the Bourbons, except that he had a reserve in rear

of his second line. On the 20th at daybreak, with King Charles by his side, he advanced to the encounter; and at 8 o'clock the battle was scientifically commenced by an artillery duel. Staremberg had divided his train into three corps, and had efficiently posted his pieces in elevated positions. As at Almanza, the English guns were under Michael Richards and Borgard. The cannonade lasted for no less than four hours, at the end of which period a considerable number of casualties had occurred in both armies, among the officers killed on the Spanish side being Lieutenant-General D'Avré.

The engagement between the hostile lines of horse and foot now began. The Spanish cavalry were in superior numbers and in excellent condition; on the right they were led by Lieutenant-Generals Amezaga and Mahoni; and on the left by Lieutenant-Generals Armendaritz and Ronquillo. On the side of the Allies Stanhope commanded the left wing, which comprised Carpenter's horse; Wetzel, the centre, with whom were Wills's foot; and Belcastel the right.

At noon Staremberg ordered a general advance, and the Austrian left at once came in contact with the Bourbon right. The horse under Amezaga and Mahoni being very strong the Austrian marshal had reinforced Stanhope by six Portuguese squadrons. He also followed Galway's example, and interwove four battalions of foot among the cavalry on the left. Yet in spite of these precautions the Spanish troopers were too powerful to be resisted, and so vigorously did they charge that Stanhope and Carpenter recoiled to their second line. Here they rallied; but Mahoni made another crushing onset, and this time drove back some of the Austrian squadrons on the extreme left so far that, following them up, he came upon the reserve train in the rear of the army under the immediate command

of Borgard. At first the Spanish horsemen made great havoc among the almost defenceless gunners, and slaughtered most of their mules; nevertheless Borgard with his escort made a very gallant resistance, and saved the whole of his pieces from capture.

In the centre the Allies were more successful; for the Spanish foot, who were of very poor quality, made little opposition to Wetzel's Germans and were soon broken, many of them even throwing down their arms. On the right also the Spanish horse were rolled back by Belcastel, who was aided by Wetzel's flank fire. Meanwhile Stanhope had brought up fresh squadrons, and had re-arranged the greater part of the defeated ones; whilst Mahoni, having stayed too long attacking the train in rear, had left Amezaga unsupported. When the Irish general saw his mistake he speedily retired, though he had to fight hard before he could rejoin the Bourbon line.

However the rout of the Spanish foot involved their horse on the left, and soon afterwards drew off Amezaga and the right. Hence, by 2 o'clock, the whole Bourbon army was retiring in disorder along the Ebro. The Austrian horse pressed forward in pursuit, and a large number of the Spanish foot were taken prisoners; yet the ability and bravery of Amezaga and Mahoni, who commanded the rear-guard, enabled Bay to bring off some guns, his camp equipage, and most of his baggage. Accompanied by King Philip, who joined him from Saragossa, he retreated to Tudela in Navarre, forty-five miles from the battle-field, where he rallied the remains of his army, barely exceeding 8,000 men. The same evening King Charles for the second time entered Saragossa, and was very favourably received; whilst the citadel at once surrendered.

In this battle 3,000 Bourbons were slain or disabled,

and 4,000 taken prisoners, the latter being chiefly among the ill-behaving foot. In addition 5,000 were dispersed, of whom about half afterwards rejoined Bay in Navarre, and the rest deserted. They also lost twenty-two guns, part of their baggage, and many colours. On the side of the Allies the killed and wounded amounted to 2,000. The exact casualties of each nationality are not recorded; yet it is certain that the English horse and train suffered severely. The latter had eighty casualties, and 300 of their mules were hamstrung; whilst Borgard was again wounded, and this time in four places. Belcastel's Dutch distinguished themselves; but as regards the English foot no authentic accounts are forthcoming as to their share in the conflict. However it is clearly shown by a letter from Carpenter to Secretary Walpole that all the English troops did their duty.[1] The result of the battle, mainly due to Staremberg's able tactics, was a decisive victory for the Austrians, whereby the door to the Spanish capital was again thrown open. The Allies were now almost in the same circumstances as after the victory caused by the relief of Barcelona in 1706. Yet there was one important difference; for whereas then the success had been achieved over the French, now it was only over the Spaniards.

Meanwhile Philip, having proceeded to Madrid, sent off the Queen, his infant son and the Court, to Valladolid in Leon, where he temporarily established the

[1] Stanhope's despatches and the English accounts generally of this important battle are remarkably scanty. The only record of any individual English regiment is that of the Royal Dragoons, then under Lieutenant-Colonel Montagu (for in 1709, St. Pierre had left the service), who out of a strength of less than 200, lost six officers (four killed) and thirty-six troopers, besides one of his standards.

Bourbon government. He then returned to Bay in Navarre, where he was in the vicinity of the French-garrisoned fortresses, and also in secure communication with King Louis, from whom he hoped soon to receive troops and (above all) a commander-in-chief. For several days Staremberg remained at Saragossa, where he established magazines; and soon afterwards Arragon (which contained no fortresses of consequence) became once more an Austrian province. At present however there was nothing to prevent Charles from entering Castille with a view to the re-occupation of Madrid; and by September 4th the Allied army had marched as far as Calatayud.

At this place, in order definitely to settle his future plan of operations, the King summoned a grand council. Besides himself, there were present D'Assumar, Lichtenstein, Staremberg, Stanhope, La Puebla, Belcastel, Carpenter, Frankenberg and Wills. The main question to be decided was whether the army should proceed direct to Madrid, or should first sever the Bourbon communications with France in Navarre. Beginning (as customary) with the juniors, the members of the council expressed their opinions as follows. Wills and Frankenberg thought they should advance to the capital to profit by the present Bourbon consternation; and Carpenter, that they should regulate their movements by those of the enemy; whilst Belcastel and La Puebla concurred with Wills. Stanhope strongly urged that first they should go straight to Madrid, and afterwards should endeavour to hold Navarre and gain some port in Biscaya, whence they could quickly receive succours from England. Staremberg agreed with all Stanhope said regarding Navarre and the acquisition of a port; he was also of opinion that Gerona should be strengthened and well supplied, and that Lerida, Tortosa, Mequinenza

and Monzon should be blockaded; but he refrained from mentioning Madrid. D'Assumar and Lichtenstein coincided with Stanhope as to proceeding to the capital; and the Portuguese ambassador contended that, even if they should seize the land routes, intercourse by sea between Spain and France could not be prevented. Charles said that to him it appeared much more useful to intercept the Bourbon lines of communication than to occupy Madrid, for if French help were cut off, Castille could not hold out for any length of time. Moreover, if they now entered that province, they would find great difficulty in subsisting their troops, for he feared the Castilians would always be against them. However he left the matter to the generals; it was accordingly resolved to abide by the opinion of the majority, which was to march at once to Madrid.

On receiving the news of the defeat, King Louis acted with his customary promptitude, and immediately ordered Vendôme into Spain to take command of the Bourbon army. On August 28th that general left Paris, and on arrival at Bayonne arranged with Marshal De Montrevel (who was in command of the district) that French troops should be sent into Spain with all despatch. Pending their advent he resolved to denude the Navarre fortresses of their French garrisons, and with them to recruit Philip's army. On September 17th, accompanied by Noailles, who had joined him from Rousillon, he reached Valladolid, where he conferred with King Philip. He then concentrated Bay's shattered army at Aranda on the Douro, where it was joined by the Navarre garrisons and by large Spanish reinforcements. Bay himself returned to his former command in Estremadura to confront the Portuguese; whilst Noailles proceeded to

Rousillon, whence, as soon as sufficiently strengthened, he was to undertake the siege of Gerona.

Meanwhile, in conformity with the resolutions adopted at Calatayud, Staremberg entered Castille and passsing along the valley of the Henares approached Madrid. On the 20th he reached Alcala, and next day, at the head of an advanced guard, Stanhope took possession of the capital. On the 28th Charles himself entered the city; most of the people however remained indoors, and he was very coldly received. Having performed his devotions at the Church of the Atocha, he went first to Quinta, a country seat of Count D'Aguilar, a few miles distant, and afterwards to the Pardo, where he took up his residence. The people of Madrid voted a subsidy of 40,000 crowns a month for the support of the Allied army; and whilst the main body encamped in the environs, a strong division was sent under Stanhope to occupy Toledo, and thence to march along the Tagus towards the bridge of Almaraz, there to join hands with a force expected from Portugal.

This plan of operations had already been concerted between Staremberg, D'Assumar and the ministers at Lisbon; and on the 30th, at the head of a Portuguese army, the Count De Villa Verde (who had replaced Frontreira) crossed the Guadiana, and advanced towards Almaraz. He proceeded however no further than Xeres de los Caballeros, which place he besieged and reduced, the garrison surrendering as prisoners. He then represented to the Portuguese ministers that if he should continue his march Bay would probably interrupt his communications; that his army was tired, the weather rainy, and forage scarce. Thereupon (as he had hoped) he received instructions to return to Portugal.

Being apprised of the intentions of the Austrians,

Vendôme determined to gain the bridge of Almaraz before either the Portuguese or Stanhope could reach it. Accordingly on the 25th he left Aranda and descended the Douro to San Estevan de Gormas, where he was joined by considerable bodies of troops from Castille, Galicia and Valencia. He then pushed on to Tordesillas in Leon (being met there by Philip), and on October 6th, at the head of 14,000 men, moved forward to Salamanca, where he obtained large supplies. On the 17th he arrived at Placentia, and from that place sent a powerful detachment to secure the bridge of Almaraz, which he at once destroyed.

At this time Stanhope had only reached Talavera de la Reina, whence on hearing that Vendôme was at Almaraz he retired to Toledo. The French marshal now advanced to Talavera, where he encamped to watch the Allies. The whole country was in his favour; his army daily increased; and by November 8th he was in command of a combined force of French and Spaniards numbering no less than 10,000 horse and 15,500 foot.[1]

[1] Add. Coll., Strafford, 31135, f. 233, 235. Lond. Gaz., Sept. 12-16, 1710. Boyer, IX. 95-98, 100-113, 116-117. Jas. Stanhope, App. 115. Burnet, 857. Cunningham, II. 327-9. Quincy, VI. 420-431, 434-8. Targe, V. 426-7, 433-5. St. Simon, IX. 17-21. Colbert, 150, 164, 240, 243, 249, 256, 261, 269, 280-7, 318. De La Torre, V. 319. Larrey, III. 420-1. Lamberty, VI. 165-170. Lett. Hist., XXXVIII. 339-345. Coxe, III. 155-6. Duncan, I. 95. Tindal, XVII. 291, 294-5. Somerville, 401, 638. Millot, III. 11-12, 17, 22, 30-32.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Surprise at Brihuega.

On arrival at Madrid Staremberg's army did not exceed 21,000 men; and since then, owing to detachments, sickness and desertion, their numbers had greatly diminished. It was the object of the marshal to hold Toledo and the adjacent country, to winter in Castille, and to maintain communication both with Arragon and (if possible) with the sea-coast of Valencia. But the great additions to the Bourbon forces had altered the complexion of affairs, and the wisdom of his own and King Charles's views at the council had become manifested. For the occupation of Madrid was only a barren honour, the Castilians being so bitterly hostile; whereas if Navarre had been strongly held, probably no French succours would ever have reached King Philip. Supplies were also failing, and altogether the state of things was so serious that it was deemed advisable for Charles to abandon the capital, and to return with his Court to Barcelona.

Accordingly on November 11th Staremberg decamped from Madrid, and took up a position at Ciempozuelos and Chinchon, not far from the site which (under similar circumstances) Galway had occupied four years before; whilst Charles and his Court pro-

ceeded through Saragossa to Barcelona, where they arrived on December 15th. Towards the end of November, having exhausted the subsistence of the country, the Austrian general resolved to retreat towards Arragon. His army had unceasingly diminished, and its effective force did not exceed 17,000 men. On the 28th he withdrew the garrison from Toledo, and on December 3rd retired up the Tajuna. Vendôme then sent forward a body of 4,000 horse under Vallejo and Mahoni to occupy the capital; and the same day, amidst the acclamations of the Castilians, Philip re-entered Madrid.

For the convenience of subsistence, it was agreed among the Allied generals that the troops should move in separate columns, and by nationalities, under their respective commanders. The Germans, Spaniards, Dutch and Portuguese marched at no great intervals from each other, and on the 6th, having reached Cifuentes on the left bank of the Tajuna (about eighty miles from Chinchon), were cantoned in this town and among the neighbouring villages; for the weather was too inclement for encamping.

Stanhope however, with the bulk of the English division (who had formed the rear-guard), diverged to the left, and took up his quarters within a small town named Brihuega, fourteen miles distant from Cifuentes and on the right of the Tajuna, where he arrived on the night of the 6th. Being under the impression that Vendôme was still a long distance off, the English commander took no steps to ascertain by scouting parties the position of the enemy, nor even, although the town was in a hollow girdled by hills, to provide for the security of his force by posting pickets outside the walls. His troops consisted of eight squadrons and eight battalions, all very weak, and only num-

bering altogether 2,536 officers and men.[1] The English train was with Staremberg, as were also two regiments of foot and one of dragoons; and it was against the wish of the marshal that Stanhope had isolated himself with the remainder.

The intelligence acquired by Vendôme regarding the Austrian movements was very accurate; and no sooner did he learn that Stanhope was marching at a considerable distance from Staremberg and the rest of the Allies than he determined to attack him. Collecting 4,000 grenadiers from the whole army he placed them under Lieutenant-General De Thouy, with orders to follow Vallejo and the horse by forced marches. The latter had closely pursued Stanhope, but had concealed their full strength; and the English general had only looked on the parties that from time to time had appeared in his rear as insignificant reconnoitring detachments. Accompanied by Philip, Vendôme then set out for Alcala, which he reached on the 7th; whilst Thouy advanced so rapidly, that at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 8th, after having marched 170 miles in seven days, he joined Vallejo on the summit of the hills commanding Brihuega. Later in the same day Vendôme and Philip also arrived.

Brihuega was enclosed by a high wall of Moorish construction, unflanked, without artillery, and along a great portion of its length unprovided even with musketry banquettes; but it contained a small castle

[1] The cavalry under Lieutenant-General Carpenter and Major-General Pepper consisted of Harvey's Horse, and the Royal, Pepper's and Stanhope's (late Nassau's) Dragoons; numbering in all 640 troopers. The foot under Lieutenant-General Wills and Brigadier-General Gore comprised the Scots Guards, Harrison's, Wade's, Bowles's, Dormer's, Munden's, Dalzell's and Gore's regiments; and mustered 1,896 men. Of the foregoing officers, Harvey, Harrison, Wade, Bowles, Munden and Dalzell were not

capable of some resistance. Owing to the proximity of the hills and the absence of outposts, Thouy and Vallejo approached without being perceived, and took Stanhope completely by surprise. However, on discovering them, he at once dispatched his aide-de-camp to Staremberg to inform him of the situation, and made energetic preparations for defence. He barricaded the gates, constructed banquettes, pierced loopholes, rendered the principal buildings tenable, and distributed his men in the most advantageous positions. By the evening Vendôme had completely surrounded the town, and during the night was joined by a field train of twelve guns, which were immediately placed in battery.[1]

Next morning, on Stanhope refusing his summons, he opened fire, and soon had made two breaches in the old walls; whilst at the same time, from his commanding situation, he swept the streets of the town with shot. Having also taken possession of an empty house which lay close outside, he began to mine, and by that means formed a third entrance. At 3 p.m. he sent against each of them a large storming party of grenadiers; but from the overlooking houses Stanhope poured a vigorous fire of musketry, and the assaulting columns were several times repulsed with much loss. Nevertheless by dint of persistent attacks the Bourbon troops eventually captured all the breaches, and thence

present. Wade had gone home and did not return. In 1724 he was employed in Scotland, and under his direction important roads were made in the Highlands. In 1743 he became a field-marshal, and two years later, when commander-in-chief in South Britain, pursued the rebels from Derby northward. He died in 1748 at the age of eighty.

[1] It is not easy to understand why, on the first appearance of the Bourbon van, and before Brihuega had been encircled by the enemy, Stanhope did not send away his cavalry, who as such were of no use for defending the town.

advanced into the town. The various posts were most gallantly defended; and after three hours' fighting, during which the Bourbons suffered heavily, the greater part of the place was still in possession of the English. Their ammunition however had begun to run low, numbers had been killed or wounded, and there were no signs of relief by Staremberg. The castle still remained as a refuge, and into it Stanhope ought certainly to have retired with his remaining troops; but in view of all the circumstances he deemed it best to capitulate.

Accordingly at 6 o'clock, having beat the *chamade*, he surrendered with his men as prisoners of war; yet only half-an-hour afterwards Staremberg's van reached the neighbouring hills, and if Stanhope had maintained his resistance, Vendôme must have retreated. The English casualties were 300 killed and 300 wounded; and (exclusive of the latter) 1,936 were taken prisoners.[1] These included Stanhope,[2] Carpenter (who was severely

[1] It may be noted that this was the second occasion during the war on which that brave but unfortunate regiment of dragoons (Pepper's), which afterwards became the 8th or King's Royal Irish Hussars, was captured *en masse*; whilst its first two colonels, Conyngham and Killigrew, had both been slain in battle. Of this corps no official records have as yet been compiled.

[2] For nearly two years Stanhope remained a prisoner in Spain, and on returning to England left the army. In 1714, on the accession of George I., he was appointed Secretary of State and in 1717 was raised to the peerage as Viscount Stanhope of Mahon (a title afterwards changed to an earldom), and also nominated prime minister. In 1721 (whilst holding this office) he was seized by a fit of apoplexy, which caused his death at the age of forty-eight, to the great grief of the king and the whole nation. To assert that he was a good general, or even a soldier whose heart was in his profession, would be untrue; but he had much energy and courage. As ambassador and statesman his qualities have probably never been excelled.

wounded),[1] Wills,[2] Pepper, Gore and 231 officers of lower rank;[3] and among the slain was Lieutenant-Colonel Varrier, who met his death whilst bravely fighting at the head of the Scots Guards. The Bourbons lost the large number of 900 killed and 1,800 wounded. The former included Brigadier-Generals Ruplemond and Urbina, Colonel Quintana and Lieutenant-Colonel Martinez; and the latter, Lieutenant-General De Thouy.[4]

[1] Carpenter distinguished himself in 1715 against the rebels at Preston, and in 1719 was raised to the peerage as Lord Carpenter. He died in 1732, whilst governor of Minorca, at the age of seventy-five. He was an excellent officer of cavalry, and wrote a work on the manœuvres of that arm.

[2] Wills also served with honour at Preston, and was instrumental in forcing the rebels to surrender. He became Sir Charles Wills and colonel of the Grenadier Guards, and in 1739 attained the rank of field-marshal. He died in 1741 at the age of seventy-one.

[3] The names of the officers who, when taken prisoners, were in command of regiments were :—Colonel Dormer; Lieutenant-Colonels Otway of Harvey's, Montagu of the Royals, Hawker of Stanhope's, Ramsay of Harrison's, Howard of Wade's, Strickland of Bowles's, Nevill of Munden's, and Pearson of Dalzell's; with Majors Erle of Pepper's and Pinfold of Gore's.

[4] Treasury [1710], CXXVII. 5. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXX. 141. Eg. Coll., Historical, 2618, f. 205. Add. Coll., Strafford, 31135, f. 193. Lond. Gaz., Dec. 23-26, 1710. Boyer, IX. 116-118, 125-6, 130. Jas. Stanhope, 117-120. Burnet, 857. Cunningham, II. 333. Coxe, III. 158-9. Cannon, 3rd Lt. Dragoons, 113. Duncan, I. 95. Quincy, VI. 439-442, 444-7. Colbert, 280, 317-18. Targe, V. 468. St. Simon, VII. 27-29. Larrey, III. 423. Lamberty, VI. 170. Millot, III. 32-33. Tindal, XVII. 297-300. Smollett, II. 189. Somerville, 401. Hamilton, II. 21, 85. Scott's Swift, XV. 389.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Battle of Villa Viciosa.

Meanwhile Captain Cosby, the aide-de-camp whom, on the 8th, Stanhope had despatched to Staremberg, did not arrive at Cifuentes till 11 p.m. on that day. On account of the enemy's parties he had been obliged to diverge from the straight road, and thereby had been much delayed.[1] Staremberg at once collected his army from their quarters in the neighbourhood, and next morning his van set out for Brihuega. At 6.30 p.m. (as already mentioned) they arrived within four miles of the town, when their advance was checked by a strong Bourbon force drawn up across the road.

Believing Stanhope to be still besieged, Staremberg fired some guns to make him aware of the approach of the Allies, and then took up a position on the adjacent heights of Villa Viciosa. His force consisted only of 2,900 horse and 10,800 foot, or 13,700 men in all, besides a train of twenty guns. About three-fourths of the troops were Germans, and the remainder Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and English, their relative strength being in the order given. The last-named

[1] Considering his critical situation, it is remarkable that not more than one messenger was sent by Stanhope.

were under Brigadier-General Lepel, and mustered 880 men, of whom Lepel's dragoons (two squadrons) numbered 150; Du Bourgay's and Richards's foot, 550; and the train, 180.[1] The latter was under Richards, to whom his tried comrade Borgard (who had recovered from his wounds at Saragossa) was again second. Over the Germans the general officers were Wetzel, Frankenberg, Eck, Coppe, Contrecour and Hamilton. The Spaniards were commanded by Villa Roel and Almaida, the Dutch by Belcastel and St. Amand, and the Portuguese by D'Atayda.

On the morning of the 10th Vendôme, who had been joined by the whole of his army from Talavera, prepared to attack the Allies. He was at the head of 8,000 horse, 12,800 foot and twenty-eight guns. His were Spanish and French soldiers in the proportion of about three to one. He drew them up in two lines, the horsemen on the right being led by Valdecanas, Vallejo and Mahoni; those on the left by D'Aguilar; and the foot in the centre by Thouy and Las Torres. Staremberg had arranged his force in a similar manner, with the foot in the centre and the horse on the wings; but he had also a detachment of cavalry immediately in rear of each of the main lines. His left rested on difficult ground, and along his front extended a stony, irregular plain. His somewhat exposed right was covered by some battalions expressly posted for the purpose.

In front of each army were most of their guns; and at 2 p.m. Vendôme, having completed his dispositions, began to cannonade the Allies. Staremberg replied, and the artillery combat lasted for an hour and a half, great execution being done on both sides. Val-

[1] Lepel's Dragoons and Du Bourgay's Foot were formerly Rochford's and D'Albon's respectively. To Michael Richards had been given the colonelcy of foot lately held by Lepel.

decanas then briskly charged the Austrian horse on the left, where were only thirteen weak squadrons, including Lepel's dragoons. After a short resistance, being overwhelmed by superior numbers, the Allied troopers were broken and routed, and with them some of the adjacent infantry. The small body of English foot, which was on the right of the routed regiments, being left unprotected, was terribly cut up, and most of the officers and soldiers were either killed or taken prisoners. Like as at Saragossa, the victorious Spanish squadrons again reached the rear of the Allied army, where they attacked the reserve train, commissariat and baggage, and began to plunder.

On the right, however, the Bourbon attack was repulsed, and in the centre the foot firmly held their own. To support and rally his shattered left Staremberg had sent Contrecour with three Portuguese squadrons and three German battalions from his second line; and soon afterwards his German horse on the right made a splendid charge on the Bourbon left, and drove them from the field. At this time Vendôme, accompanied by King Philip, happened to be in rear of the defeated squadrons, and deeming that the battle was lost, actually retreated with them as far as Torrija beyond Brihuega, about six miles distant. The Bourbon foot in the centre then began to give ground; but it was with difficulty that the Allies resisted the impetuous attacks on their left made by Valdecanas and Mahoni. Nevertheless at nightfall the Bourbon centre and right were in slow retreat towards Brihuega, the field and all the Bourbon cannon being left in the possession of the Allies. It was a bloody and stubbornly-contested engagement; and the Austrian army, far inferior in number to that of the Bourbons, fought in the most determined manner.

Nominally Staremberg had won the battle, but his success merely consisted in the temporary repulse of his powerful enemy; and although he passed the night on the field, yet next morning he found himself without either food or transport, for the Spanish troopers had slaughtered nearly all his draught animals. He had also lost heavily in killed and wounded, and his soldiers were greatly exhausted. From the prisoners he had taken he heard for the first time of Stanhope's fate at Brihuega; hence, even if he had possessed the means of doing so, there was no necessity for him to advance in that direction. But he was unable to move the greater part of his guns and baggage, whilst it was impossible for him to remain where he was and resist another attack. Having therefore selected six Bourbon minions (4½-pounders) and four of his own 3-pounders (these being all that Richards was able to remove), he spiked the rest and abandoned them, after burning their carriages. And at 8 a.m., with ten guns, all his wounded, and so much of his baggage and stores as he was able to bring away, he commenced a painful retreat to Siguenza, twenty miles distant, where, with 9,700 effective men, he arrived next day and halted.

During the night Vendôme, having learnt that his right had been successful, and had only withdrawn on the retreat of the centre, returned with the horse of his left wing to Brihuega, and in the morning advanced with his whole army to the battlefield, where he appropriated the crippled guns and relinquished baggage. He then set out in pursuit of the Allies, sending his horse in advance to harass their rear-guard.

At the battle of Villa Viciosa the Austrians lost 3,000 killed or wounded, and 1,000 taken prisoners. Among the slain were Lieutenant-Generals Belcastel and Frankenberg, and also Major-Generals St. Amand

and Coppe. The Huguenot leader Belcastel was killed whilst gallantly fighting at the head of the Dutch, and his death was greatly lamented. The English force, including the train, was almost annihilated, a large proportion (comprising thirty-four officers), being captured. For the fourth time Borgard was wounded, and afterwards was taken by the enemy at Siguenza.[1] On the side of the Bourbons 4,000 were slain or disabled, and 100 made prisoners, with the latter being Lieutenant-General De Thouy. Among their killed were Major-General Ronquillo, Brigadier-Generals Palmo, Heredia, Berbona and Correa, and thirteen colonels; whilst their wounded included Lieutenant-General Armendaritz, Major-General Amezaga, Brigadier-Generals Pratomeros, Salvaterra and Belmonte, and ten colonels.

On the 13th, having left a battalion at Siguenza to guard a certain number of his wounded, whom he was obliged to abandon, Staremberg retired in good order to Daroca in Arragon. Having stayed there a few days he continued his retreat to Saragossa, which he reached on the 23rd. On the 15th Vendôme arrived at Siguenza, when the Austrian detachment and its charge fell into his hands. The French marshal then halted to refresh his foot, though Valdecanas and the horse maintained the pursuit. At Saragossa Staremberg rested seven days, during which time he destroyed the guns, pontoons and other materials which had been stored there.

On the 30th, leaving 700 Spanish troops in the citadel to cover his retreat, he resumed his march to

[1] On the conclusion of the war Albert Borgard became Chief Firemaster of England, and in 1722 the first colonel of the new Regiment of Artillery. In 1751, after having attained the rank of lieutenant-general he died at the age of ninety-two. Few officers did better service for King Charles, or gained more scars in his cause, than this gallant soldier.

Catalonia; and five days later Vendôme arrived at Saragossa, the Spaniards soon afterwards surrendering. On the 6th, with 8,714 effectives, ten guns, and 2,822 wounded, after an ably conducted retreat, Staremberg reached Tarragona and Barcelona, and placed his troops in winter quarters, whilst at the same time Vendôme went into cantonments in Arragon and along the frontier.

As the result of the actions at Brihuega and Villa Viciosa and the subsequent retreat, the Austrians lost 3,600 killed or wounded, and 3,936 prisoners, or a total of 7,536 men; whilst the Bourbon casualties were 6,700 placed *hors-de-combat*, and 100 captured, or in all 6,800 men. These operations constituted a decisive victory for Vendôme, who thus, in less than four months after the battle of Saragossa, had re-established King Philip and the Bourbon cause.[1]

[1] Treasury [1710], CXXVII. 5. Stowe Coll., Richards, XXX. 141. Lond. Gaz., Dec. 23-26, 1710. Boyer, IX. 118-121, 127-131. Burnet, 857. Cunningham, II. 333-4. Quincy, VI. 447-451. Berwick, II. 102, App. 458. Colbert, 320, 324, 339. St. Simon, IX. 30-36. Targe, V. 474-5. Larrey, III. 424. Lamberty, VI. 172-3. Millot, III. 33. Duncan, I. 95. Tindal, XVII. 300, 306. Smollett, II. 189.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Peace of Utrecht.

During the early winter of 1710 the French army in Rousillon under Noailles was raised to a strength of 18,600 horse and foot, to whom were added a large siege train. In December the French general advanced against Gerona, which on the 15th he invested. This fortress is situated on the left bank of the Donia, at its junction with the Ter. It was enclosed by a bastioned *enceinte;* and on the opposite bank of the Donia was an intrenchment, beyond which were several detached permanent works and field redoubts, the principal being Fort Rouge. The governor was Major-General Count Tattenbach, who had a good garrison of Germans and Spaniards; and the town was well supplied.

On the 23rd Noailles commenced an attack on Fort Rouge, and six days later had rendered its escarp accessible to assault. Not intending however to hold the fort, Tattenbach mined it, and after withdrawing the garrison destroyed it. Noailles then pushed trenches against the fortress; but as soon as his batteries were ready the rains caused an overflow of the rivers, whereby the bridges were broken, the works filled with water, and the camps flooded. For twelve days he was un-

able to carry on the siege; but on January 14th, 1711, the storms having ceased and the inundations subsided, the approaches were re-established and the guns opened fire. Five days later a large breach was pierced, which on the 23rd was assailed and carried; and next day Tattenbach surrendered with the honours of war.

As regards the main operations in Catalonia during this year, the severity of the recent campaign prevented Vendôme from assembling his forces till September; and the army with which he then took the field at Cervera numbered about 19,000 men. On the side of the Allies Staremberg had been indefatigable in recruiting and refitting his vanquished troops. He had received a large reinforcement of Germans from Italy, together with seven new regiments of English foot from Ireland and Gibraltar under Major-General Whetham; and in August, when he took up a fortified position at Pratz Del Roy (near Igualada) to cover Tarragona and Barcelona, his total strength was about 15,000. To succeed Stanhope as English commander-in-chief and ambassador, the ministers had sent out the Duke of Argyle, who had arrived in May.[1]

On September 16th Vendôme cannonaded the Austrian camp at Pratz Del Roy, but to no purpose, and shortly afterwards returned to Cervera. In November he sent Lieutenant-General Muret with 3,000 men and a train to besiege Cardona. Its outer line consisted merely of an earthen rampart, but there was a strong castle on an eminence. The governor was Count Eck, who had a garrison of three battalions, two German

[1] *The Duke of Argyle* was born in 1678. He had served under Marlborough at Kaiserswart, Ramilies, Ostend, Menin, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. At the two last-named engagements his bravery was conspicuous.

and one Spanish, the whole numbering 1,200 men. On the 15th Muret began to batter the intrenchment, which two days later he captured. Eck and the garrison then retired into the castle, which Muret at once besieged. With sorties and artillery Eck made an excellent defence, and for a month the Bourbon attack was foiled.

However the supplies of the garrison were becoming exhausted, and on December 20th Staremberg detached Lieutenant-General Pathee with 4,000 men to relieve them. Under him was Colonel Edward Stanhope with 550 English foot,[1] together with a large force of miquelets led by Major-General Raphael Nebot. On the 21st Pathee arrived before Muret's lines, and having skilfully disposed his troops, made a simultaneous assault from several quarters. The Bourbons resisted with spirit, and the engagement lasted till the next day. Eventually however Pathee succeeded in penetrating the enemy's position, and in throwing succours into the castle, whereupon Muret abandoned his siege train of twenty-two pieces, together with his wounded, sick, camp and baggage, and retreated to join Vendôme.

Discouraged by this defeat, and apprehensive of attack by Staremberg, the French marshal on the 25th retired with his whole army across the Segre, and soon afterwards went into winter quarters. In these operations the Bourbons lost 2,000 men, among them being Brigadier-General Count Melun. The Allied casualties amounted to 300, and included Edward Stanhope, who whilst gallantly leading his regiment was mortally wounded.

During this affair Argyle had been ill at Barcelona,

[1] Edward Stanhope was a brother of the general. The troops were chiefly his own regiment, formerly Inchiquin's.

and on recovery, perceiving with some indignation that the English ministers then in office were only half-hearted in maintaining the war, deemed his presence in Spain no longer necessary. Accordingly, taking with him the English troops, he proceeded to Mahon, where, supervising the improvement of the defences, he remained till the suspension of hostilities a few months later.[1]

In 1712 Vendôme and Staremberg again took the field, and though the operations themselves were of no consequence, yet the Bourbons received a heavy blow. For whilst the two armies were in summer quarters Vendôme proceeded to the seaport of Vinaros for change of air, and on June 15th died there from an attack of indigestion improperly treated.[2] Staremberg afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Rosas, and then blockaded Gerona.

In August a suspension of hostilities took place between England, Holland, France and Spain; but the

[1] Here it may be mentioned that in September, 1711, Michael Richards had been recalled to England to take the post of Chief Engineer of the Kingdom. In 1714 he was appointed Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, and in 1716 it was at his instance, and under the direction of himself and Colonel John Armstrong, his successor as chief engineer (both of whom had seats on the Board of Ordnance), that the Train was converted into a regiment (the present Royal Artillery) independent of the King's Engineers, whilst at the same time the mother corps was increased and reorganized. In 1720 the same officers founded the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Michael Richards died in 1722. He was an excellent, zealous officer, much appreciated by the Duke of Marlborough.

[2] The age of the Bourbon conqueror of Spain, when he died, was fifty-eight. His memory has been greatly calumniated by the animosity of the Duc de St. Simon, whose memoirs, written, according to Lord Macaulay, "for the delight and instruction of many lands and of many generations," are a mass of malicious gossip, indecency and falsehood. In spite of them there can be little doubt that Vendôme was the greatest general that France had possessed since the death of Luxembourg.

war between the Empire and the Bourbons proceeded (without any important event) until the summer of 1713, when Staremberg and the Germans finally left Spain, and were conveyed in the Allied fleet to Italy.[1]

On the side of Portugal nothing of moment had occurred since the combat on the Caya. But in 1710 the English ministers, acceding to the solicitations of the Earl of Galway, had relieved him from his post, and in October of that year he had returned to England.[2] His successor was the Earl of Portmore, who, after one uneventful campaign, obtained leave to come home; and at the end of 1711 the English troops in Portugal were removed to Gibraltar and Minorca.

It will now be necessary to notice the political circumstances which brought about the conclusion of hostilities. In 1710 and 1711 two momentous events had taken place outside Spain, which had greatly conduced to terminate the war. These were the fall, in

[1] Some years after the accession of George I., Staremberg was appointed Imperial ambassador at St. James's. In 1736, at the age of seventy-nine, he finished a career of much honour and integrity.

[2] On arrival in England, after being kindly received by the Queen, Galway returned to his home in Hampshire. In August, 1715 (on the resignation of Sunderland as lord-lieutenant) he was again appointed a lord justice of Ireland, and held the office till December, 1716. He then went back to Rookley, where, in the immediate neighbourhood of his cousin Lady Russell, to whom he was much attached, he spent the remainder of his life. On September 3rd, 1720, at the age of seventy-two, he breathed his last, and was buried in Micheldever churchyard, the grave never closing over a general of whom Great Britain had more reason to be proud. Unfortunately the descriptions of him given by Lord Macaulay, Lord Stanhope and Sir Walter Scott, are very wide of the truth, and form conclusive manifestations of the manner in which these writers have allowed their proclivities for the Parolles of Queen Anne's reign to warp their better judgments. It is to be doubted if modern war ever furnished a leader who more resembled the lion-hearted, chivalrous warriors of old, than Henry De Ruvigny, Earl of Galway.

August, 1710, of Godolphin's ministry; and the death, in April, 1711, of the Emperor Joseph. By the first the extreme Tories were brought into power, and by the second the Imperial crown devolved upon King Charles, who therefore became no longer eligible for the throne of Spain. Actuated partly by the natural feeling of exhaustion, which by this time (irrespectively of politics) the long war had induced throughout England, and partly by a spirit of intense animosity against Marlborough, Godolphin and the Whigs, the new Tory cabinet had already resolved to negotiate for peace when the news arrived of the Emperor's death; and to these causes the ill-success of the Allies in Spain had acted as an additional incentive.

Hence on October 31st, 1711, notwithstanding the continued advance of Marlborough into France, informal communications were opened between that country and Great Britain which led to an agreement to hold a regular conference at Utrecht. Accordingly on February 9th, 1712, the meeting took place, the English commissioners being the Earl of Strafford (formerly Lord Raby) and Bishop Robinson of Bristol (the Lord Privy Seal). But about a month before, for political reasons, Marlborough had been prematurely relieved of the command of the Allies; and while the sun shone the French made hay. By the victory of Denain and the recovery of Bouchain they distinctly improved their position at the council-board, and owing to these successes the terms of the embryo treaty were rendered less advantageous for the Austrians. In the meantime, on September 27th, 1711, Charles had embarked at Barcelona on board the flagship of Sir John Jennings, and had sailed for Italy. On October 12th he was unanimously elected to the Imperial throne, and on December 22nd was crowned as Charles VI.

In August, 1712, the members of the conference at Utrecht agreed to a suspension of hostilities between Great Britain, Holland, France, Spain and Portugal; and on April 10th, 1713, a definite treaty of peace was concluded between those countries. Lille and the other French fortresses captured by Marlborough were restored to Louis XIV., who (on his side) ceded Nova Scotia and St. Christopher's to Great Britain, and engaged to uphold the English Protestant Succession. Spain proper (excepting Gibraltar and Minorca), with the Indies, remained under Philip V. and his successors, but only on condition that the crowns of France and Spain should never be held by the same king. The remaining Spanish territories were divided among the different combatants. Namur and certain other Flemish towns were given to Holland; the Spanish Netherlands, the Milanese and Naples, to the Emperor; Sicily to the Duke of Savoy; Sardinia to the Elector of Bavaria; and lastly, Gibraltar and Minorca to Great Britain.[1] By the possession of these two fortresses England regained that position of a Continental power which she had lost with Calais in 1558, and her influence in Europe was considerably increased.[2]

[1] It was not till August 12th, 1714, that a separate agreement between France, Spain and Germany, was signed at Rastadt. The retention of their special privileges not having been provided for in either of the treaties, the Catalans revolted anew, but after sustaining at Barcelona a bloody siege of four months' duration, were obliged to submit. The desertion of these faithful Spaniards by the Cabinet of Oxford and Bolingbroke must ever form a blot on the annals of British history; for on May 12th, 1705, through the Tory secretary, Sir Charles Hedges, among whose colleagues were Robert Harley and Henry St. John, Queen Anne had solemnly promised the Catalans, on condition of their joining the Allies, that she would "secure them a confirmation of their Rights and Liberties from the King of Spain that they may be settled on a lasting foundation to them and their posterities."

[2] State Papers, Spain [1705-6], 134. Stowe Coll., Richards,

XXX. 141; XXXI. 142. Add. Coll., Naval and Military, 5752, f. 31. Lond. Gaz., Feb. 8-10, 1711. Boyer, IX. 114-15, 132-3, 237-255, 301, 311-14, 334, 362, 419; X. 64-96. Impartial, 17. Mag. Brit. Not. [1723], 502; [1726], 48. Burnet, 572, 869. Cunningham, II. 372. Cartwright, 159, 161, 176-8, 375-7. Murray, V. 647. Coxe, III. 153, 238, 321-336, 396, 412-13, 423-35, 455. Cannon, 13th Regt. 28; 39th Regt. 7. Hist. MSS. Comm., IX. 471. Quincy, VI. 454-66, 567-9, 582-3, 591-6. St. Simon, V. 35; IX. 15. Colbert, 122, 180, 235, 339. Targe, VI. 267-77, 322, 396, 412-13, 423-35. Lamberty, VI. 565. Millot, III. 34-59, 94. Voltaire, 348. Tindal, XVII. 306-7, 382-5. Smollett, II. 300, 562. Campbell, IV. 232, 421-478. Somerville, 350, 438. Macky, 189. Robert Campbell's Life of Argyle [1745], 31-71. Hervey's Memoirs, I. 214. Dyer's Modern Europe, III. 477. Smith, 269. Burke's Extinct Peerage.

Note.—Throughout this work, the references for the biographical foot-notes, as a rule, are not specified. But exceptions are made in the cases of those on pages 107 and 187, the authorities for which are included in the lists for the respective Chapters.

APPENDICES.

A.—Prince George of Hesse Darmstadt.

Born at Darmstadt on April 25th, 1662, Prince George was the second of the seventeen children of Ludwig VI., Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and of Elizabeth Dorothea, his wife, a daughter of Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Gotha. The eldest son was Ernest Ludwig, who afterwards became reigning Landgrave. In 1685 and the following year the two brothers went on a tour to Strasburg, Bâle, Lyons and Paris, where they received instruction in mathematics, languages, riding, fortification and the military art. In 1687 (æt. 18) George entered the Imperial service as a volunteer, and joined the army in Hungary then fighting against the Turks. He served on the staff of Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, and took part in the battle of Mohacz, where the Ottomans were signally defeated. In the presence of the Elector the young Prince engaged in single combat a powerful Mussulman cavalier, and after a long fight slew him, thereby gaining much honour and renown.

Next year, with the rank of colonel, and in command of a Darmstadter regiment of 1,000 men, he accompanied the Imperial contingent to the Morea, to assist the Venetians in their struggle with the Infidels. In August the siege of Negropont was undertaken by the Allies, and on September 8th the Darmstadters, in concert with the Waldeckers and Swiss, were engaged at the assault of the Tower. During the action Prince George behaved with great gallantry; but after sustaining a heavy loss the stormers were repulsed. At the grand attack on October 12th the Darmstadters were in the brigade of Baron Sparr, and when the first charge failed, and Sparr was

disabled, the command of the column devolved on the Prince who led it forward a second time; but they were again driven back, and the Prince was wounded. After a resolute contest of two months' duration, in which the casualties of the Christians (by land and sea) amounted to 13,000, and those of the Turks to 6,000, the Allies were obliged to abandon the enterprise and to re-embark in their galleys. In the following year the young colonel fought in the Rhine campaign, and shared in the great siege of Maintz, at which, in the capture of the counterscarp alone, the Germans lost 4,000 men. He also took part in the prolonged attack of Bonn, where he was wounded in the leg.

In 1690, with the consent of the Emperor, he offered his services to King William, and joined the staff in Ireland. On the day before the battle of the Boyne, attended by Prince George and other officers, William rode along the river to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. Thereupon the Irish brought down two field guns, and fired at the group from the opposite bank. The first shot struck the Prince's holsters, and killed his horse, whilst he himself was slightly injured; and the second grazed the King. However, throughout the battle that ensued next day, William (as is well known) led his troops, and the Prince was by his side.

In the campaign of 1691 the services of Prince George were still more prominent. He had received (æt. 22) the commission of brigadier-general in the English army, and the colonelcy of the regiment of foot afterwards known as the 6th. At the siege of Athlone his brigade consisted of his own corps, Lloyd's (afterwards the 5th) and Cutts's. On July 10th, the "English" town having been captured, a council of war was held, and by a majority of votes (including that of the Prince) it was resolved to cross the Shannon and to attack the Irish quarter. The storming party of 1,500 grenadiers was led by Prince George, who was accompanied by Colonel Gustavus Hamilton. Fording the river under a heavy fire the Allies bravely assaulted and carried the Irish intrenchments. In this audacious action the Prince was wounded, and his regiment suffered severely. On the 22nd occurred the battle of Aghrim, when he commanded his brigade in one of the finest charges made during the day, and was wounded for the fifth time. He lay at Eyrecourt till his

recovery, which soon took place; and on September 4th, whilst the siege of Limerick was in progress, he was detached by De Ginckel in command of a force consisting of his own, Tiffin's (afterwards the 27th) and St. John's Foot, with 700 horse and five guns, to invest Castle Connell. After two days' operations the place surrendered, and he then returned to the attack of Limerick, which capitulated in October. Out of the Irish troops who submitted he formed a regiment for the service of the Emperor (which was afterwards engaged against the Turks); and the war in Ireland being finished he departed to Germany.

This year the Prince was promoted in the Imperial service to the rank of major-general, and shortly afterwards was awarded the colonelcy of a regiment of Cuirassiers rendered vacant by the death of the Prince of Hanover. In 1692 and the two following years he again served in Hungary against the Turks, the Imperial army being commanded by the Margrave Ludwig of Baden. During these three years the siege of Grosswardein appears to have been the principal action that occurred. In 1694 he relinquished his commission in the English service. From the letter he wrote to King William he seemed to consider himself slighted, and certainly there is no record that he ever received any special reward for his deeds at Athlone and Aghrim. About this time he embraced the Roman Catholic faith (an example afterwards followed by three of his brothers); for as a Protestant his further advancement in the Imperial service would have been arrested or retarded.

Towards the close of 1694 the Emperor, having resolved to succour his nephew Charles II. of Spain, assigned Prince George the command of 5,000 Imperialists to take with him to Catalonia. On his arrival at Barcelona early in 1695 (æt. 26), he was awarded a commission in the Spanish army as general of horse, which was next in rank to that of captain-general. The Queen of Spain was his cousin, and between the two there existed a warm sympathy. In person the Prince was very handsome; in character, honest, frank and generous; and in disposition, singularly winning and sweet-tempered. [State Papers (1703-6), Dom. Anne, Bundle 5, No. 39; Ditto, Ireland, King's Letters (1702-11), No. 3. Treasury Papers, LIX. 31. Brit. Mus. Add. Coll., William III.

Papers, No. 21523. Rept. Hist. MSS. Comm., VII. 208; VIII. 561. Küntzel, 1-42, 45-72, 75-78, 83-99, 133. Cannon's Records, 6th Regt. 23-27, 103; 9th, 10-11; 23rd, 13. Luttrell, I. 46. Ang. Not. (1694), 320. Boyer, I. 23; IV. 286. St. Pierre, 36. Burnet, 638. Duncan, I. 87. Diary of an Engineer (1691), 7. St. Simon, II. 53. Noble, II. Tindal, XIII. 271. Macaulay, III. 625-628; IV. 86. Dunlop, II. 269.]

B.—Henry De Ruvigny, Earl of Galway.

Henry De Massue De Ruvigny, born on April 9th, 1648, at Charenton in France, was the eldest son of the Marquis De Renneval et De Ruvigny, a Huguenot general who served his country with reputation and afterwards became ambassador at the Court of St. James. At an early age Henry joined the French army, and from 1672 to 1675, as aide-de-camp to the great Turenne, fought in Germany against the Allies. In June, 1674, he is mentioned by Louis XIV., in a letter to the marshal, as the bearer of the news of a recently gained victory. In October of the same year, in his despatches to the King regarding the battle of Eusheim, Turenne, after praising Ruvigny's conduct, wrote as follows: "En attendant, s'il plaisoit le Roi de vouloir gratifier M. De Ruvigny du régiment de Cornas, son père et moi en serons très obligés à sa Majesté." In 1675, on the death of the marshal at Saltzburg, the tact of the young colonel in reconciling the differences between the two generals Lorges and Vaubrun, who each claimed the chief command, saved the French army from further disaster.

Early in 1678 (æt. 30) he was sent by King Louis on a special mission to England. The time was critical, for Charles II. was wavering in his alliance with France, and great exertions were needed to prevent him from joining the Dutch. Ruvigny was employed in carrying confidential overtures between the two Courts; and the result, mainly due to his diplomatic skill, was the treaty of Nymeguen. In 1679 he succeeded his father at Versailles as Deputy or Agent

for the Huguenots, and at this time the French historian Benoit thus alluded to him: "C'etoit un jeune Seigneur de qui les belles qualités etoient connues de tout le monde. Il etoit bienfait de sa personne, d'un esprit doux, sage, éclairé; brave sans témérité, prudent sans basesse; agréable au Roi, aimé de tout le Cour, bienvenu auprès des ministres."

In 1685, when Lord Churchill (afterwards Duke of Marlborough) arrived at Versailles to notify the accession of James II., he made the acquaintance of Ruvigny, and laid the foundation of a close friendship which was only severed by death. He assured the Huguenot Deputy that if at any time the new monarch should attempt to change the English religion, he should leave his service. The same year Louis very unwisely revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which hitherto the liberties of the Huguenots had been maintained; and henceforward these faithful men were subjected to great persecutions. Highly valuing the services of the elder and younger Ruvigny, the King thought fit to exempt them and their family from the results of this policy; yet without hesitation they remained true to their poorer brethren; for at the Revolution in 1688 they sacrificed their fine estates, and, in company with a large number of fellow-Huguenots, emigrated to England. They all became naturalized English subjects, and in the War of the Succession that broke out fourteen years afterwards, it was found that the Anglo-French officers and soldiers who took part therein were among the best troops in the Allied armies.

In 1691 (his father having died) Ruvigny (æt. 43) entered the English service as a major-general of horse, and took part in the Irish campaign. He had been awarded the colonelcy of the regiment of Huguenot cavalry formerly held by the Duke of Schomberg who was killed at the battle of the Boyne, where his own younger brother (known as La Caillemotte) had also been slain. At the siege of Athlone (like Prince George) he was one of the generals who voted for attempting the passage of the Shannon, which was afterwards so gallantly accomplished. At the battle of Aghrim he was in command of the horse of the second line, consisting of his own corps and the Royal (or Oxford) regiment of Horse Guards. The foot in the centre had assaulted the Irish intrenchments, which were on the side of a hill, and the enemy had made

a determined resistance, against which the Allies were beginning to break. At this crisis Ruvigny led his horse to their relief. In so doing he had to pass a dangerous, boggy hollow, under a heavy fire from the enemy's guns and from the batteries near Aghrim Castle, whilst on the farther side the Jacobite leader St. Ruth, at the head of the Franco-Irish horse, was ready to charge him. But the French commander was struck dead by a cannon-shot, and Ruvigny having crossed the defile fell on the flank of the Irish foot and bore down all before him. The Allied centre then rallied, returned to the attack and stormed the intrenchments; and soon afterwards the enemy were routed all along the line. They lost 4,000 killed and wounded, and 600 prisoners, besides their guns, baggage and equipment. It was a "crowning victory," and the hopes of the Jacobites in Ireland were for ever destroyed. "As for the honours of this great day," wrote Bishop Kennet, "General Ginckel had ever the modesty to confess that it was principally owing to the conduct and bravery of the Marquis of Ruvigny and of the Oxford and French regiments of horse." As a consequence of the battle the fortress of Galway immediately capitulated.

In August Ruvigny served under Ginckel at the siege of Limerick, and in the following month was selected by that general to treat with Sarsfield for the capitulation. During the war in Ireland he had formed an intimate friendship with Prince George, whose temperament was of a nature very congenial with his own. In February, 1692, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general and appointed commander-in-chief in Ireland; and in November, as a reward for his services at Aghrim, he was raised to the peerage by the titles of Viscount Galway and Baron Portarlington. In June this year he had been chosen as second in command (under the Duke of Leinster) of an expedition intended against St. Malo, but (owing to the disagreement between the admirals and generals) nothing came of it, and he returned to Dublin.

In 1693, having been ordered to Flanders, he arrived in time to take part, as commander of the English and Huguenot horse, in the bloody battle of Landen. His bravery was conspicuous, and in covering the retreat of the Allies he repeatedly charged the overwhelming masses of French horse. There is reason to believe that he was wounded; but the

story (hinted by St. Simon and broadly asserted by Lord Macaulay) that he was taken prisoner and allowed to escape is sustained by no evidence and is extremely improbable.

Shortly afterwards he was selected by King William as commander-in-chief of the English contingent then fighting in Piedmont under the Duke of Savoy, and also as ambassador to that sovereign. Here he remained till 1696, when, the Duke having joined the enemy, the English troops returned home.

In February, 1697 (æt. 49), Galway again went to Ireland in command of the forces, and at the same time was appointed one of the lords justices, whilst in May his peerage was converted into an earldom. For upwards of four years he remained in Ireland, virtually as its ruler. He was a man after William's own heart, and in him the King placed the fullest confidence. During his stay in Ireland he founded a French University at Kilkenny and built the greater part of the town of Portarlington, where he endowed two churches and two schools. In June, 1701, the Earl of Rochester having been appointed lord-lieutenant, Galway retired from his post.

The same year he accompanied the King and Marlborough to the Continent to organize the Grand Alliance, and was sent on a special mission to the Elector of Cologne. On return to England (being unmarried and in moderate circumstances) he took up his residence at a small house in Hampshire named Rookley, near Stratton, where lived his cousin Lady Russell. From this retirement, in which (being infirm and subject to gout) he had hoped to end his days, he was called by Marlborough and the ministers in June, 1704 (æt. 56), to succeed Schomberg as commander-in-chief in Portugal; and his excuses were personally overruled by the Queen herself.

Writing of Galway at this time, an impartial biographer thus expressed himself: "He is one of the finest gentlemen in the army, with a head fitted for the cabinet as well as the camp; is very modest, vigilant and sincere; a man of honour and honesty, without pride or affectation." His portrait shows a very pleasing face, with a cheerful, good-humoured expression. [Brit. Mus. Add. Coll., Ireland Papers, 9765, f. 84. Agnew's Life of Galway, 28-108; Ditto (Protestant Exiles), I. 155, 232-233. Griffet's Recueil de Lettres (1760), I. 61; II. 354, 364-369, 379-381, 432; IV. 370, 386, 397. Noble's Biogra-

phical History, I. St. Pierre, 12, 22. Macky, 160. London Gazettes, Dec. 4-7, 1693; Aug. 14-17, Sept. 28-Oct. 2, 1704. Boyer, III. 134-135; IX. App. 98. Luttrell, III. 30. Hist. MSS. Comm., VII. 216; VIII. 561. Burchett, 162. Kennet, III. 620. Kane's Campaigns (1745), 11-13, App. Burnet, 572, 628. St. Simon, I. 88-95. Collins's Peerage (1812), III. 621. Burke's Extinct Peerage. Ralph, II. 300. Tindal, XIII. 462, 497; XIV. 92-94, 411-412, 497. Smollett, I. 131. Ranke, IV. 45-46; V. 27-29, 53, 205. Macaulay, III. 411; IV. 79, 85, 92, 101.]

C.—"The Military Memoirs of Captain Carleton."

In 1728 there was published in London (in the form of an autobiography) a work purporting to describe some of the principal events of the War of the Succession in Spain. As corrected in its second issue during that year, its title was "The Military Memoirs of Capt. George Carleton from the Dutch War, 1672, in which he serv'd, to the Conclusion of the Peace at Utrecht, 1713." Its account of the War in Spain is opposed to the clear evidence of all contemporary manuscripts, annals and records, and has not been adopted by a single historian or biographer of the eighteenth century, though during that time no less than four prints of the work made their appearance, *viz.*, two in 1728 by E. Symon, one in 1741 by F. Gosling, and the last in 1743 by T. Astley. In confirmation of the manner in which these "memoirs" were ignored, the following authors, whose works were published subsequently to 1728, may advantageously be consulted: Oldmixon [1735], Chamberlen [1738], Anonymous History [1740], Birch (Houbraken) [1743], Harrison [1744], Leake [1750], Tindal [1751], Smollett [1757], Walpole [1758], Campbell [1742 and 1779], Universal History [1782-3], Cunningham [1787], and Somerville [1798]. During each of the years in which the Carleton narrative was newly printed, the nation was at war with Spain; and the full claptrap descriptions on the title-pages have evident reference to the interest then taken by the public in that country.

So far as can be ascertained, the book was not noticed by

any literary authority till 1784. It was in that year, and at the close of his long life, that Dr. Johnson, who prided himself on his knowledge of the English authors of his day, and moreover took particular interest in the Earl of Peterborough (the personage forming the central subject of the work), for the first time heard of it. After that year, till 1809, the only allusions to it are those made in 1789 by Andrews (a writer of anecdotes) who refers to a good story in it, and in 1798 by Somerville, a historian of the reign of Queen Anne, who only mentions the Carleton version in order to reject it.

In 1809, however, on the strength of Johnson's notice, Sir Walter Scott (a blind admirer of Peterborough) edited the book anew, and with a glowing preface deliberately introduced it to the world as a piece of undoubted, authentic history. Nevertheless he had made no previous researches of any kind; could say nothing as to the identity of Captain Carleton; and was actually under the impression that the edition of 1743 was the original one.

Following the example thus given by Sir Walter Scott, the whole of the subsequent writers on the wars of Queen Anne, with the three exceptions of Nicolas (Royal Marines) [1845], Cannon (36th Regt.) [1853] and Trimen (35th Regt.) [1873], have accepted the Carleton "memoirs" as the *bonâ-fide* reminiscences of an honest, deserving veteran, and have shaped their works accordingly. Of these authors the principal are: Coxe [Bourbon Kings] in 1813 and [Marlborough] 1818; Watt [Bibliography] in 1824; Lord Stanhope [War of the Succession] in 1832 and [Reign of Queen Anne] 1870; Gleig [Eminent Commanders] in 1832; Lord Macaulay [Edinburgh Review] and Dunham [Spain] in 1833; Dunlop [Spain] and Lowndes [Bibliography] in 1834; Cannon [Official Records of the 1st, 5th, 6th, 13th, 15th and 31st Regiments] between 1837 and 1850; Wallace [History of England] in 1839; Warburton [Life of Peterborough] in 1853; Cust [Annals] in 1858; Küntzel [German Biography of Prince George (a most unfortunate deception)] in 1859; Lee [Works of Defoe] in 1869; Hamilton [Grenadier Guards] and Noorden [German History of the War] in 1874; Wyon [Queen Anne] in 1876; Dyer [Modern Europe] and Morris [Queen Anne] in 1877; Hill Burton [Queen Anne] and R. E. Journal in 1880; Townshend-Wilson [Life of Berwick] in 1883; Napier [Edition of

Johnson] in 1885; and Russell [Memoir of Peterborough] in 1887.

It is on these "memoirs" that Lord Stanhope founded his sketch of the War in Spain; and thirty-eight years after its publication, in his History of the Reign of Queen Anne, though in the interval he had made no additional investigations, he strongly re-asserted his entire faith in the Carleton narrative and repeated the main outlines of his original account. In respect of Mr. Cannon's Records, it will be found that in those of the 5th, 1st and 15th Regiments, written in 1837, 1838 and 1848 respectively, the actual words of the "memoirs" are embalmed as authentic portions of the regimental histories of these three distinguished corps. Nevertheless in 1853, in his Records of the 36th Regiment, the eyes of Mr. Cannon appear to have been opened; for he deliberately threw over the Carleton version of the War, on which he had based his chronicles of the 6th, 13th and 31st Regiments, and utilized the diametrically opposite one given in the current London Gazettes and Annals of Queen Anne, the essential features of which are embodied in the present history.

In 1830 there arose a school of sceptics, initiated, in his elaborate Life of Daniel Defoe, by Walter Wilson, who (judging by their style) considered the "memoirs" to be a romance written by that author. In 1837 he was followed by John Lockhart (the son-in-law and literary executor of Sir Walter Scott); in 1840 and 1854 by William Hazlitt, Mr. Tegg and Mr. Henry Bohn, who separately edited the works of Defoe, and included among them the Carleton "memoirs"; and in 1883 (in his Manual of English Literature) by Dr. George Craik. According to Mr. Lee, Sir George Cornewall Lewis was also among these dissenters.

The upshot of the matter is the remarkable fact that, whilst every nineteenth century English history (hitherto written) treating of the War in Spain is based on the Carleton "memoirs," every nineteenth century edition of Defoe's works includes them among his fictions. This state of things appeared to demand, on the part of a fresh writer of the history of this conflict, some original literary investigation; and the result of this research is here given.

In 1700 there was a Captain George Carleton in Tiffin's [27th] Regiment (to which corps the ostensible author of the

"memoirs" asserts that he belonged), then stationed in Dublin. In October of that year, for bullying and provoking an ensign of the same regiment to fight a duel, he was cashiered by sentence of a General Court-martial; but through the clemency of Lord Galway, the Commander-in-Chief and Lord Justice in Ireland, on account of his having a wife and three children to support, and nothing to live on, he was placed on the Irish half-pay list. (At this time, according to the "memoirs," he was forty-eight years of age.)

In 1705, on his own account, and (to quote the official records) "as a volunteer without a particular post," Carleton went to Spain, and during that year acted as an assistant-engineer at some portion of the operations before Barcelona. In the same capacity (apparently through the kindness of Lord Galway) he was employed in 1707 on the fortifications of Alicant, and in 1708 at the second defence of Denia. At the latter fortress he was taken prisoner with the rest of the garrison; and in 1711, by reason of his "not having been heard of" for a long time by the authorities in Ireland, his name was struck off the half-pay list. In 1713, at the Peace, he returned home, and on petition was restored to his pension. As being in receipt of this allowance his name has been found in Irish military documents of 1714, 1715, and 1717. On September 3rd, 1730, administration of his effects was granted at Dublin to one Margaret Westmoreland; consequently his death must have taken place by that date, though possibly it may have occurred one or two years previously. The above is a summary of all that (as yet) has been discovered respecting Carleton's personal identity.

As regards his "memoirs," it will be found that they divide themselves naturally into three parts. The first, embracing fifty pages of Tegg's edition, is composed of military adventures in Flanders, England and Scotland, and extends from 1672 to 1705; the second, comprising eighty-four, gives a version of the War in Spain between 1705 and 1708; and the third, containing ninety-seven, is devoted to an account of the alleged doings of the reputed author from 1709 to 1713, whilst he was a prisoner in Spain. Each of these parts is marked by special characteristics.

The first is full of warlike anecdotes *à la Munchausen*, related in a very offhand manner, and apparently intended by the

real writer as ironical hits at the military boasters of the day. Among these stories is a remarkable sarcasm against duelling (of all subjects). This part merely forms a diverting prologue to the second or central portion of the narrative; yet among the more sober of its statements, there are perhaps a few which, as samples of the general veracity of the book, are worthy of notice.

(I.) Carleton is made to state that he is a nephew of Sir Dudley Carleton, who was ambassador to the Hague in the reign of Charles II.; but researches made about the end of the eighteenth century by General Sir Guy Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester), who was born in 1724; in 1869 by Captain Percival Carleton, another member of the same family as Sir Dudley; in 1858 (or thereabouts) by Mr. J. H. Markland); and during the last three years by the present writer; have entirely failed to trace any record of Captain George; and so far as can be ascertained, all that the compiler of the "memoirs" asserts as to Carleton's genealogy is totally untrue.

(II.) He gives an account of a wonderful exploit performed by him as a lieutenant in Tufton's [15th] Foot in 1690; but from an investigation of the Commission books in the War Office it is indisputable that no such officer was ever in that regiment. (Unfortunately certain previous statements as to feats of bravery resulting in his winning an ensigncy in Fenwick's [5th] Foot cannot be tested, for this regiment was then on Dutch pay.)

(III.) In the capacity of a captain in Tiffin's Foot, he describes the battle of Steinkirk, in which he professes to have shared; but at the time when the action was fought this regiment had not even landed in Holland. He also states that in 1695 he was selected to command the grenadiers of Tiffin's at the desperate assault of Namur Citadel; yet a close research has failed to discover that any portion of this corps took part in that operation.

(IV.) As a reason for being placed on the half-pay list, he states that his regiment was put under orders for the West Indies, and that, being in England at the time of their embarkation, he missed his passage, whereupon (to his "great satisfaction") he was allowed to exchange with a half-pay officer.

(V.) In 1705, when Lord Cutts (a great beau and fond of pomp) was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, Carleton (then in reality living with his family in poverty and disgrace) states that he offered the general his house in Dublin as a residence "suitable to his great quality," in gratitude for which Cutts recommended him for a post on the staff of the Earl of Peterborough, who was about to proceed to Spain.

The second part of the work is unmistakably its essential portion and *raison d'être;* and no very critical perusal is needed to perceive that it is not so much a narrative of events as an autobiography of a particular individual, not Carleton (who in point of fact is artfully made to display himself as a coward), but clearly the Earl of Peterborough. Of this peer the ideas, reflections and motives are delineated in a manner that could only have been dictated by himself. In 1728 he was seventy years of age, yet at the same time active both in mind and body. From his point of view versions are given of the assault of Montjuic, the relief of Barcelona, the capture and defence of Alicant, and the two sieges of Denia, which (it is not too much to say) are simply malignant inventions, the falsehood of which can be proved by incontrovertible testimony.

In the third part (which curiously is the longest of the three), the "memoirs" are almost wholly devoted to scenes, allusions and anecdotes of a *clerical* nature; the military colouring disappears; and the religious customs of the Spaniards are described in considerable detail, the whole forming a very amusing (though rather profane) epilogue to the central inspired biography.

The feature however of the "memoirs" that mainly proves them to be a concoction, and not the *bonâ-fide* narrative of a soldier, is the amount of plagiarism and recasting from previously written works and documents with which they abound. These older productions consist of the memoirs of Sir William Temple (edited by Dr. Jonathan Swift), which appeared in 1700; two letters from Peterborough written in 1705; the Account of his conduct in Spain, compiled for him by his physician (and intimate associate) Dr. John Freind and published in 1707; the Report of Peterborough's replies to the inquiries made by the House of Lords in 1711; the "Conduct of the Allies" (greatly praising him) by Dr. Jonathan Swift,

issued in 1712; and the Letters from Spain by the Countess D'Aulnoy, published in 1692. In addition to these more palpable similarities, there is a resemblance between some of the expressions in the Carleton account and those in "A Memorial of the Expedition to Barcelona, Anno 1705," which is among John Richards's papers and apparently forms the draft of a report drawn up by him for Peterborough's use.

The passages appropriated (and more or less ingeniously recast) from Temple's memoirs, six in number, are in the prologue of the work, and refer to the Dutch war; those from Freind's account, amounting to no less than twenty-nine, together with four from the two letters, the report and Swift's pamphlet, are in the central part, and refer to the war in Spain; while those from D'Aulnoy, fourteen in number, are in the epilogue, and constitute picturesque descriptions of Spanish scenes, customs and religious ceremonies. The most barefaced are the numerous appropriations from Freind, relating chiefly to a series of curious proceedings on the part of Peterborough in Valencia, which the doctor (as his mouthpiece) describes with much minuteness. In regard to the assault of Montjuic, the version given by Carleton closely coincides with the much slighter but equally false one given by Freind, and is obviously intended as an amplification of it. In both of them Peterborough infamously appropriates the honour and credit rightly belonging to Prince George. The Carleton account of the relief of Barcelona (in which Sir John Leake is treated in the same manner) is also somewhat fuller than the very similar one given by Freind. In fact, a comparison of the two works clearly shows that Carleton's narrative is intended as the complement or completion of Freind's; and this is confirmed by the circumstance that, at the end of the latter, the doctor expressly states that a continuation of it will be given to posterity by "an abler hand."

Next to the plagiarisms, the element of calumny which pervades these "memoirs" is perhaps their principal characteristic, and the person who throughout the book bears the chief portion of this vilification is undoubtedly the Earl of Galway (Carleton's great benefactor), against whom Peterborough (as can be abundantly proved) cherished a mortal hatred. But indeed it may be said with truth that whilst the cowardly deserter, to the lying relation of whose actions and

conduct the second (or central) part mainly confines itself, is systematically lauded, justified or excused, nearly every prominent officer on the side of the Allies who actually fought for King Charles is either slandered or altogether ignored. In the former of these two categories there are at least nine officers of high rank (eight being English); and all of them were dead when, twenty-three years after the principal event of the war, these valuable "memoirs" were given to the world. And here it may be mentioned that at this time but few English officers who, having heard of the "memoirs," would have been concerned in refuting or exposing them, could have been alive. Among those known to have been dead are Lords Galway, Cutts, Donegal, Charlemont, Stanhope and Tyrawley; Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir John Leake; Generals Hanmer, Tiffin and Ingoldsby (the three officers who constituted the court-martial on Carleton); Generals Conyngham, Wyndham, Gorges, Killigrew, Hans Hamilton, John Richards, Michael Richards and Lewis Petit; Colonels De St. Pierre, Rieutort, Syburg, Thornicroft and Perceval.

Of the slandered officers (all of whom were very gallant and honourable men), a general and an admiral are charged with treacherous obstruction; another general is represented as being shot while in the act of running away from the enemy; a third as heading his panic-struck men in deserting an important post; and a fourth as first advising the citizens of a captured town to place their goods under his personal protection, and then as appropriating them for his own special booty. Again, a governor of a castle attacked by the enemy is accused of stealing the treasure in the place, and after making a private capitulation for the security of himself and his money, of delivering up the garrison as prisoners of war; the governor and next senior officer of another fortress are described as being drunk at the most critical stage of the whole defence; and lastly, a Queen's engineer is stated to have purposely made a false report, during a siege, on a very momentous question.

As regards the style of the "memoirs" the chief points are: (1) the ironical and unmilitary manner in which the lively warlike stories are related, containing as they do many expressions, descriptions and conceptions which could never

have entered the mind of a trained officer; (2) the numerous clerical, Latin and classical allusions by which the whole book is permeated; (3) the impiety and indecency of many of the religious references; and (4) the frequent mention of Irish persons (and especially Irish priests).

In respect of the probable authorship of the work, the fact that, whilst the first issue in 1728 is announced as being written *by* Carleton, in the second and evidently corrected one the "memoirs" are only stated to be *of* him, and no actual writer is mentioned on the title-page, is not without importance.[1] Even apart from this circumstance, to imagine that the cashiered captain of Tiffin's Foot wrote the work is totally out of the question. Yet it may be admitted that (being seventy-six years of age and in want) he may possibly have sold some rough diary, jottings or oral accounts, the substance of which could easily have been amplified, falsified or omitted according to the necessities of the purchaser. But there is no evidence that he knew of any intention to utilize such writings or relations as a pretext for a publication to be called by his name traducing Lord Galway, and it is very improbable that he ever heard of its existence.

As to Peterborough being the person who conceived its production, paid for its publication, and inspired its central portion, there can be little reasonable doubt. And in regard to its actual writer, all the circumstantial testimony as yet obtained (which is of some extent) points unswervingly to a master of libellous literature who was one of the few intimate friends of the projector, a close associate of Dr. Freind, and a bitter enemy of Lord Galway; in short, to Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. That Defoe was the author is a theory of the most irrational nature. All the available information (general and special) completely dispels such an idea, and the sole link that tends in any way to connect the creator of the "Memoirs of a Cavalier" with the concocter of the "Memoirs of Captain Carleton" lies in the fact that both wrote fiction.

[1] The first print is in the Grenville Collection of the British Museum, and is catalogued under the head of "Defoe (Daniel)." Its title is followed (though not closely) in the publication of 1741, whilst that of 1743 is designated on the lines of the second issue. In point of printing, paper and binding, all four editions are very well turned out.

However the identity of the writer, though of literary interest, is not a matter of much historical importance, and perhaps will never be irrefutably established. What is certain about the work is: first, that it is not the *bonâ-fide* memoirs it professes to be; secondly, that its version of events connected with the War in Spain is intentionally untrue; and thirdly, that for eighty-five years after its appearance it was ignored by all historians. [The Earl of Egmont's Coll. of MSS. (1697-1709). Public Records of Ireland (in the Dublin office): King's Letters, VII., Birmingham Tower Collection. Public Records of Great Britain: Ordnance Minutes (1715), f. 151; (1718), f. 228, 272: Treasury Papers (1711), CXXVII. f. 5; CXXXIII. (Petition), (1713); CLXIV. f. 15: State Papers, Mil. Comm. (1667-1682), f. 391: Mil. Entries (1679-1687), f. 221, 384, 418; (1694-1702), f. 83; (1714-1723), XII. (Petition). Brit. Mus., Stowe Collection, Richards Papers, XXV. 136; XXIX. 140. Add. Collection, Ruvigny Papers, 9718, f. 124: Ireland Establishments (1717), 18595, f. 61, *et alia*: Military Papers (1715), 29880: Ireland Papers, 9765, f. 119: Establishments, 31243, f. 50: Hatton-Finch Papers, 29589, f. 449: Strafford Papers, 22264, f. 38, 40. Memoirs of Capt. Carleton (1728, 1741 and 1743). Percival Carleton's Memorials of the Carletons (privately printed). Hist. MSS. Comm. 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th Reports (Names of Carleton, Carlton, Charleton and Charlton). Calendars of Treasury Papers, *passim* (Names). London Gazettes, May 8-12, 1690; July 25-Aug. 29, 1692; Aug. 29, 1695. London Magazine, Nov. 1742. Angliæ Not. (1700), 572. Mag. Brit. Not. (1723), 559. War Office Commission Books (1682-1692). D'Auvergne's Campaigns (1695), *passim*. Kane's Campaigns, 23. Journal of the Siege of Namur, 8-27. Kennet, III. 651-2, 694-7. Ralph, II. 595-605. Tindal, XIII. 317, 328; XIV. 3, 9-13, 22, 224, 237. Smollett, I. 257. Cannon's Records, 2nd Dragoons, 9th Lancers, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 23rd, 31st and 36th Foot. Boswell's Johnson, VIII. 334 (ed. 1835). Scott's Life and Works of Swift, I.-XIX., *passim* (especially the so-called Memoirs of Captain Creichton and all allusions to Peterborough, Galway, Cutts, Gorges, the Percevals, Freind, military men in general, and Spanish matters). Swiftiana. Orrery's Swift. Johnson's Swift (Lives

of the Poets). Jeffrey's Swift. Forster's Swift. H. Craik's Swift. Roscoe's Pope. Wilson's Life of Defoe, I. Catalogue; III. 589. Hazlitt's Works of Defoe, I. cxxiv.; II. 87. Tegg's Works of Defoe, VIII.; XX. 81. Bohn's Works of Defoe. Life of Mrs. Christian Davis. Collins's Peerages (1735); (1812) III. 330-4. Somerville's Queen Anne (1798), 102. Andrews's Anecdotes (1789), 170. Lockhart's Life of Scott, I. (1839), 83-4; (1848), 43, 217-18. Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, VI., Nov. 1858; VII., Jan. 1859. Agnew's Memoir of Lord Galway, 113. Craik's Manual (1883), 366. Hare's Allies and the Late Ministry (1712), IV. 17. Burke's Peerages (Extinct and 1872). Macky's Memoirs (1733), 160. Mahon's History of England, I. 440; II. 175, 342. Hervey's Memoirs, I. 30. All the works mentioned on pages 316 and 317 (and especially the notices of Lee, Hill Burton and Napier). For Plagiarisms and Recastings compare as follows: (I.) *Temple's Memoirs* (1700), *II., with Carleton's "Memoirs" (Tegg's edition):* T. 265-6 with C. 7, T. 269—C. 8, T. 273-4—C. 9, T. 277-8—C. 12, T. 302-3—C. 14, T. 359—C. 20, T. 399—C. 20. (II.) *Peterborough's Letters with ditto:* Brit. Mus. Add. 28057, f. 25 ("for so vain and mad an attempt," &c.), with C. 59; f. 91 ("I had in Valentia but 1,400 Foot," &c.), with C. 90. (III.) *Freind's Account with ditto:* F. 32 with C. 60 (two places), F. 34—C. 59 (two places), F. 34—C. 64, F. 35—C. 62-3-4, F. 35—C. 69-70, F. 201-2—C. 82, F. 206-7—C. 82-3, F. 237—C. 84, F. 239—C. 85, F. 243—C. 86, F. 244—C. 86, F. 254—C. 86 (two), F. 255—C. 87, F. 272—C. 90, F. 273—C. 90, F. 274—C. 90, F. 38—C. 93, F. 41—C. 92 (two), F. 55—C. 91, F. 56—C. 99-103, F. 59—C. 103, F. 122—C. 109, F. 123—C. 109, F. 151—C. 110. (IV.) *Report of Peterborough's Replies with ditto:* Boyer's Annals, IX. 112, with C. 104. (V.) *Swift's "Conduct of the Allies"* [Scott, IV.], *with ditto:* S. 313 with C. 109. (VI.) *D'Aulnoy's Letters* (ed. 1708), *with ditto* [Scott's edition of 1809]: D. 1-52 with C. 425-450, D. 37—C. 287-302, D. 38—C. 462, D. 39-43—C. 335, D. 59-60—C. 322-325, D. 91—C. 403, D. 123-151—C. 400-406, D. 123—C. 319, D. 151—C. 404, D. 151-6—C. 243-6, D. 178-188—C. 345-355, D. 239—C. 394-397, D. 242-6—C. 332-5, D. 273-6—C. 423.]

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